Anti-Colonial war, Anti-nuclear campaign & anti-Vietnam War 1970-1971

*(**Anti-Soviet Red Army Occupations – info*)
Flyers & newsletters where present, followed by ***journal articles***
*for information only

Code WV = Workers Vanguard
Code LC = Labor Challenge
Code FW = Forward

1970 – Flyers

1970-03Mar9a	Flyer: Campus Mobilization Cttee: Canada's role—Vietnam & CBW
1970-03Mar9b	Films & Sessions Mar 9-14: (Chemical and Biological warfare)
1970-04Apr18	Flyer: The Brief that Trudeau refused to hear: End Complicity

Articles

1970-WV#190-1	''Get lost'' Trudeau tells Ottawa anti-war activists
1970-WV3190-2	Photo: students protest campus war recruiters

*(**Workers' Vanguard** ends; **Labor Challenge** starts)*

1970-LC#1-1	'' Bertrand Russell, world famous British thinker and fighter for peace died Feb. 2 at age 97. In recent years, Russell became a symbol of civilized humanity's outrage at U.S. imperialism's genocidal aggression against the Vietnamese revolution'' – *Labor Challenge* editors
1970-LC#1-2	Anti-war movement bigger than ever, Addison reports (LSA)
1970-LC#2-1	Plan massive Spring anti-war offensive; Union group formed
1970-LC#2-2	Review: ''year of the Pig'' is best Vietnam film Info: ABM, Amchitka, the Arctic –how US endangers us
1970-LC#3-1	Nixon escalates US war on Laos
1970-LC#3-2	Spring anti-war offensive April 18

1970-LC#3-3	Ottawa rally protests complicity in Viet war, by I. Angus
1970-LC#3-4	Labor, NDP unite behind Vancouver anti-war action, by G.Porter
1970-LC#4	info Ottawa, Hamilton & Montreal in Apr. 18 anti-war actions (note)
1970-LC#5-1	US out of Laos, Cambodia! Canada quit ICC spy body! ***(note)*** Viet rally set for Edmonton
1970-LC#6	Continue anti-war protests; Fourth International urges
1970-LC#7-1	Thousands protest Vietnam war
1970-LC#8-1	Student strike sweeps US (Kent State U. massacre)
1970-LC#8-2	Why did Nixon do it? (invasion of Cambodia), Vancouver action
1970-LC#8-3	8000 in Toronto protest; VMC builds May 30; High schoolers spearhead Info 'Trotskyists' target of Maoists, Stalinists (on antiwar activism)
1970-LC#9-1	US students widen power
1970-LC#9-2	Mass protests around the world against Southeast Asia war Info Mailbag: 'Silent majority' now opposed to war Why Nixon can't win his gamble (ICP-USA) White House antiwar rally May 9
1970-LC#9-3	Trudeau backs US in S-E Asia, by D.F. ***Info*** U.S. rocked by social crisis (Viet war opposition) Viet reps barred; Letters: 'Silent majority' opposed to the war
1970-LC#10-1	Native contingent in Edmonton antiwar march April 18
1970-LC#10-2	Photo: 25,000 unionists march in New York against war
1970-LC#10-3	Large anti-war marches assert right to protest (VMC) Info US ruling class shaken by massive anti-war upsurge
1970-LC#11-1	Cambodian resistance rises, by Phil Courneyeur
1970-LC#11-2	Cubans mobilize, denounce (invasion of Cambodia) (Photos only)
1970-LC#12-1	Edit: Cambodia: war is far from over
1970-LC#12-2	New US antiwar coalition seeks labor support; Student protest photo When US students took over (mass campus actions), by John Wilson, LC

1970-LC#13	Protest war drive Aug. 8 (note) (H-bomb victim photo) ***Info*** H-bomb trump in warmakers' hands
1970-LC#16-1	US war spreads across S.E. Asia; Haggar hits phony truce
1970-LC#16-2	YS conference: Plan student action campaign
1970-LC#16-3	Vancouver, Toronto rallies plan fall antiwar mobilizations ***Info*** (U.S.) Chicanos mobilize against Vietnam war, cop attacks
1970-LC#17	Plan October anti-war actions; Vietnam issue in Vancouver poll
1970-LC#18-1	How your tax dollars finance war profiteers (H. Kopyto)
1970-LC#18-2	NDP, labor back Oct. 31 Viet protest Info VMC backs GM strikers; hits profiteers
1970-LC#19	Protests affirm right of assembly (October 31 IDP)
1970-LC#20	US polls say: 'Out of Vietnam!' Yugoslav students protest
1970-LC#21	US raids in North escalate Viet war, by C.F.
1970-LC#22	Info US anti-war activists parley sets April 24 for mass action (note)

1971 – Flyers & newsletters

1971-00	*(Undated newspaper Advertisement)* Canada's Role in Vietnam
1971-03Mar3	VMC letter to Antiwar groups across Canada: All out April 24
**1971-March*	*YS Fund Drive circulars, CEC Minutes Seplt.13/70, Letter to Sask. (file)*
1971-04Apr00	***Mobilizer (VMC news)*** Trudeau, Sharp War Criminals!
1971-04Apr6a	VMC Letter listing action endorsations from student councils
1971-04Apr24	Flyer: Protest the war; March April 24 (Ottawa)
1971-04Apr24b	R: With U.S. troops now, End Canada's complicity (VMC)
1971-04Apr24c	Flyer: Protest against the war, march & rally (Toronto Apr.25)
1971-09Sept30	Flyer**:** Emergency Action Conference: Stop the bombing!

Articles

1971-LC#23	My Lai trials – put Nixon, generals in dock! By M.G.
1971-LC#25-1	US out of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam! Build protests for withdrawal
1971-LC#25-2	Nixon 'Vietnamizes' Laos, Cambodia; April 24 set for protests
1971-LC#26-1	Laos war deepens, N. Vietnam next?
1971-LC#27	China warms US on Laos; Plan actions to combat S-E Asia war
1971-LC#28	Laos war fiasco for US
1971-LC#29	(note) Protesters harassed by Canadian customs
1971-LC#30-1	Photo: Oppose the war; Support the NDP
1971-LC°30-2	Trudeau -- Vietnam war criminal; 90% vote against war at SFU The British role in Vietnam; A lesson in imperialism, by R. Dowson
1971-LC#31-1	Page 1 photo: NDP convention unites behind antiwar protest
1971-LC#31-2	800,000 in US say 'Out now!'
1971-LC#31-3	Canadians protest Nixon's war (Edmonton, AB) by C.F.
1971-LC#32	US anti-war protests: Only mass action can end the war
1971-LC#33	(special election ed.) NZ anti-war protest biggest ever: 35,000
1971-LC#34	Cross-Canada conference; Trudeau fronts for Nixon in Kremlin
1971-LC#35-1	Pentagon Papers reveal: How Canada aids US genocide in Vietnam
1971-LC#35-2	Canada played vital role in US Viet intervention
1971-LC#35-3	Step up anti-war actions –VMC
1971-LC#35-4	Edit: Canada, a junior partner in imperialist aggression
1971-LC#36-1	Ottawa's crime against Vietnam; Ottawa fronted for the US
1971-LC#36-2	Rally projects huge US anti-war actions

1971-LC#36-3	Review: ’69 (VMC) pamphlet scooped Pentagon Papers
1971-LC#36-4	‘Medical aid a facade for CIA’ – Cdn nurse (letters); US troops in NB
1971-LC#37-1	Conference to take up expanding anti-war movement
1971-LC#37-2	History of the antiwar movement; 7 years of struggle
1971-LC#37-3	Photo: What secret deals made in Peking? *Info* Why Nixon is going to Peking (Mao seeks ‘Peaceful Coexistence’)
1971-LC#38-1a	Mass anti-war protests set for November 6
1971-LC#38-1b	Project antiwar action program (photo: conference in session)
1971-LC#38-2	Edit: Labor must join in (cross-Canada anti-war conference)
1971-LC#39-1	Your protests inspire us, Vietnamese tell Canadians
1971-LC#39-2	The ugly reality of Trudeau’s defence policy, by D.Fidler ***(note)*** New Zealand quits Vietnam
1971-LC#40	(note) Anti-war tour organizes for mass protests
1971-LC#41-1a	Why we keep protesting the war
1971-LC#41-2a	Stop the Amchitka bomb test! (Student demo in Vancouver)
1971-LC#41-2b	Students lead protest against U.S. bomb test
1971-LC#42	Protest the war on Nov. 3, 6; Amchitka protest *Info* Ernest Mandel on the U.S. drive to war (pp 4-5)
1971-LC#43-1a	Stop Amchitka, Stop the war!
1971-LC#43-1b	Break from NATO, NORAD, ICC (Halifax demonstration)
1971-LC#43-2	Amchitka, Vietnam: US aggression blessed by Ottawa
1971-LC#44-1	Why Amchitka? (YSer) Speech at Nov. 4 rally
1971-LC#44-2	B.C. labor stoppage a first for on-job political action
1971-LC#44-3	Amchitka upsurge reveals force of anti-US sentiment
1971-LC#44-4	New layers of population drawn into demonstrations

1971-LC#45-1	In defense of mass action: debate on ontiwar strategy
1971-LC#46-1	Canada, US plan new arms deal
1971-LC#46-2	US anti-war conference calls for anti-war mass actions April 22 ***(note)*** Antiwar activist convicted (Saskatchewan)

CBW

CHEMICAL BIOLOGICAL WARFARE IN CANADA AND VIETNAM

. . . "Here, since the spring of 1941, in laboratories and in the field, Canada has tested and perfected nerve gases, asphyxiating chemicals and strains of viruses that are judged most effective against people, cattle, food supplies and vegetation . . ."

. . . "The role of the Canadian university in the BW field was prominent from the beginning . . ."

. . . "although you'd never know it from reading the Canadian press, Canada is very highly regarded in the military here for its role in CBW research and development . . ."

. . . "The United States never signed the Geneva Convention of 1925 that banned all these weapons. Canada did."

. . . "In Goodspeed's history of the DRB Suffield authorities brag about a new improved napalm developed jointly by them and the Shirley Bay laboratories. The Americans were very impressed and it found its way into the Vietnam war by late 1962."

. . . "The Defence Research Board is part of the NATO Defence Research Group, a consortium of secret research units which most of the public isn't aware even exists. Through this group, many funds can be allotted without Parliament or Congress being informed . . ."

. . . "Where is the defensive capability of a substance so poisonous that a gram is enough to kill a million people? Where does the defensive virus stop and the aggressive virus begin?"

Liskeard, Richard. "CBW in Canada"
The Last Post, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1969

CAMPUS MOBILISATION COMMITTEE

Focus

on

CANADA'S ROLE

VIETNAM + CBW

(Chemical and Biological Warfare)

THE WEEK

of :

MARCH 9,10,11,12,14.

(University of Saskatchewan Campus)

SPONSORS:

Campus Mobilisation Committee, C.S.M.,

Asian Studies, Campus Chaplains,

High School Students' Union.

Intro: Bill 2 petition.
Mon 8th. 11m. 9:00 p.m.
MUB. - Conf Room

May 29, 30, 31.
(Fri. Sat Sun)
Suffield.

MONDAY, March 9

Films: Documentary on Vietnam
THE THREATENING SKY
241 Arts 12:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, March 10

Films: IN THE FACE OF ESCALATION
A PLAGUE ON YOUR CHILDREN
241 Arts – 3:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, March 11

Session 1 - Prof. M. Briemberg, S.F.U.
Prof. H. Kasansky, U.B.C.

"CANADIAN COMPLICITY: VIETNAM and CBW"

Upper M.U.B. 12:30 p.m.

Question and Discussion period

Session 2 - Panel Discussion: "UNIVERSITY COMPLICITY"

Professors: Briemberg, Currie, Kasansky, Livant.

Moderator: Karen Kopperud

Upper M.U.B. 3:30 p.m.

Session 3 -

Talks: Professors Briemberg and Kasansky,

Film: Documentary on Vietnam

KNOX UNITED CHURCH - 8:00 p.m.

THURSDAY, March 12

W.U.S.C. Film: "NO VIETNAMESE EVER CALLED ME NIGGER"

241 Arts - 3:30 p.m.

SATURDAY, March 14

High School WORKSHOP,

including Panel discussion, discussion question period.

UPPER M.U.B. - 2:00 p.m.

APRIL 18 1970

END CANADA'S VIETNAM COMPLICITY

The Brief that Trudeau Refused to Hear

On March 11th the Vietnam Mobilization Committee wrote Pierre Elliot Trudeau, requesting that he meet with a VMC delegation on April 18, the day of our Ottawa mobilization, to hear our Brief against Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war. For five weeks we received no reply. Then on April 16 came his refusal; he did not plan to be in Ottawa on that day. And in any case, he told us, he would not hear the Brief without first studying it to see whether it warranted a hearing.

Nixon watches anti-war demonstrations on TV; Trudeau leaves town. But we are gathering in Ottawa to speak with the voice of the millions of Canadians who oppose Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war--an outcry that the government cannot afford to ignore.

We print here our statement to Trudeau, together with his reply.

To Pierre Elliot Trudeau,
Prime Minister of Canada.

April 18, 1970.
MARCH 11, 1970

Dear sir:

We have assembled here in Ottawa today to demand of you and your government that you end Canada's complicity in the widening south-east Asian war. Never has a war been so universally condemned around the globe. U.S. aggression in Vietnam has aroused protest from all peoples of the world, including the increasingly massive protest of the American people. Your government, Mr. Trudeau, which insists so loudly on its sovereignty over Arctic waters, has said nothing on behalf of the sovereignty, the right of self-determination of the peoples of south-east Asia. On the contrary, it is complicit in the genocidal war unleashed by the U.S. against these peoples.

The Vietnamese war is escalating again today, posing as never before the urgency for Canada to end this complicity. U.S. bombing of Laos and Cambodia has increased significantly--the bombing of Laos is now at a higher level than that of North Vietnam two years ago. It is reported that there are more armed CIA "advisors" in Laos today than the U.S. had in Vietnam when the escalation of the war began. With this new widening of the war have come a number of calls for the intervention of the International Control Commission, of which Canada is a member. These calls raise the possibility that your government may become further involved in the internal affairs of these countries.

You have indicated that you support president Nixon's "peace plan" for Vietnam. It is now evident that Nixon's plan has led only to a widening of the war. Yet your government has maintained all its commitments to the U.S. war. On the International Control Commission Canada has acted solely as an agent for the U.S. State Department. This commission, which was set up to supervise the Geneva Agreements of 1954, has no further reason for existence, in that the substantive points of the Agreements have long ago been broken. Canada has consistently provided justification for U.S. aggression through its role on the ICC. Canadian representatives revealed last year that Canadian ICC members have turned over information to the CIA. Continued Canadian participation on the ICC could only lead to further denials of the right of the people of south-east Asia to self-determination.

Since the U.S. intervention in Vietnam began, Canada has encouraged and facilitated the sale of more than 2.5 billion dollars worth of arms to the U.S., the best part of it for use in Vietnam. Much of this business was organized by the Canadian Commercial Corporation, an agency of your government working under the Defense Production Sharing Agreements with the U.S. Your government renewed these agreements in 1968 without any consultation with the Canadian people, or even a parliamentary debate. Canada continues to develop chemical and biological weapons, some of which are used by the U.S. in Vietnam. The Defense Research Board has defended this on the grounds that it is purely "defensive." No one can term the development of these horrible weapons of mass slaughter "defensive."

(over)

Canada is tied to the U.S. military machine through the NATO and NORAD military alliances. Although Canada has withdrawl some troops from NATO, your government is still committed to the U.S. dominated alliance. Canadian troops in NATO free U.S. soldiers for use against the Vietnamese. A great deal of military research is done under the NATO and NORAD alliance. Continued Canadian participation in both NATO and NORAD alliances justifies and facilitates the U.S. contention that it is representing the "free world" in south-east Asia.

The reorganization of the Canadian Forces by the government has led to increased danger that Canada may become involved in repressing popular movements for self-determination around the world. Canadian troops are being trained in counter-insurgency and riot control techniques such as the exercise at Camp Petawawa in a "model southeast Asian village." Your government has more than once offered "peacekeeping" troops for use in Vietnam. This could only further thwart the struggle of the Vietnamese people for self-determination.

Sweden has acted quite differently in relation to the war in Vietnam. It has banned all shipments of arms to the U.S., recognized the legitimate government of North Vietnam, and allowed the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to open an information agency.

Canada's medical aid to Vietnam has been given only to the corrupt puppet government of Saigon, providing no aid to the real victims of U.S. aggression. Claire Culhane, a former hospital administrator in Vietnam, quotes the Canadian delegation in Saigon as telling her, "Well, our project in Vietnam is 50% humanitarian and 50% political." There have even been obstacles placed in the way of voluntary aid from Canadians such as the CFSC to North Vietnam and those areas of Vietnam controlled by the National Liberation Front.

The war is a primary factor in the inflation that threatens the livelihood of most Canadians. It is often said that the bulk of our inflation is imported from the U.S.--but what we are importing is in large part the effects of the war on the U.S. economy, which is then compounded by the inflationary effects of our own war-production industries. Until the Canadian government makes real efforts to dissociate itself from the U.S. war and its effects, the fight against inflation cannot succeed, even at the expense of the jobs and living standards of Canadian workers. Prices and unemployment are both rising at this time, pointing out the folly of attacking the symptoms rather than the cause of inflation.

WE CALL ON YOUR GOVERNMENT TO:

1. Make an immediate statement opposing the new escalation of the war and calling on the United States to withdraw all its troops immediately from Vietnam, Laos and all of southeast Asia.

2. End Canada's complicity in the war in all forms, specifically (a) an
(a) an embargo on all shipments of arms to the U.S. for use in Vietnam
(b) an embargo on the export of strategic materials to the U.S.
(c) stopping all war research by Canadian government bodies, universities and private research establishments.

3.4 Withdrawing Canada as a member of the International Control Commission, and calling on its convenors, the Soviet Union and Britain, to disband the ICC.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee

Ottawa, April 14, 1970

George Addison, Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

Dear Mr. Addison,

Thank you for your letter of March 11th, advising that your committee is organizing a mass demonstration against Canada's "complicity" in the war in Vietnam on April 18th, and asking to submit to me personally a brief with respect to Canada's Vietnam policy.

On April 18th, I do not expect to be in Ottawa, so a meeting will not be possible. In any event, I would want an opportunity to study your brief before considering such a meeting, but I would be glad to receive it by mail.

Yours sincerely,
P. E. Trudeau.

workers Vanguard

#190 Jan. 26, 1970

PROTEST VIETNAM WAR. Over 1,000 marched through Ottawa in November 15 antiwar demonstration.

'Get lost,' Trudeau tells Ottawa antiwar activists

OTTAWA — An antiwar bookstore and headquarters is being opened this month in downtown Ottawa — a first for this city. As well as providing a readily accessible supply of antiwar information for local citizens, the headquarters will serve as a center for the rapidly growing Vietnam Mobilization Committee. It is at 495 Bank St. Tel. 235-2141.

Later in the month the VMC hopes to launch a high school committee against the war from the more than 60 contacts from 16 different schools whom it met during the building of the November demonstrations.

These actions follow on Project Enough, an action by various peace groups here including the VMC which attracted national attention over the holiday season. A Christmas Eve candle light march of over 200 people set up a mock Vietnamese village on Parliament Hill. Claire Culhane, president of the Quebec Voice of Women, and a former nurse in a South Vietnam hospital six miles from Mylai, and Mike Rubbo, a Montreal film-maker who has also been in Vietnam, intended to live in this mock village for several weeks, to protest the Trudeau government's complicity in the war. The RCMP forced them to leave the Hill and reassemble the village on a downtown church lawn.

On Jan. 12 a final rally was held on Parliament Hill. Mrs. Culhane and Rubbo managed to waylay Trudeau for an eight minute exchange while his limousine idled nearby. Trudeau simply repeated his support for Nixon's Vietnam aggression and in effect told the demonstrators to go to Hanoi and Peking if they wanted to end the war! His cynical statements conveniently ignore the fact that the only foreign troops in Vietnam are those of the U.S. and its allies.

The next major action of the VMC will be an Ottawa-area conference Feb. 21. The conference will lay the groundwork for the major spring actions and elect a new steering committee representative of the new forces now coming around the antiwar movement.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD
#190 Jan. 26, 1970

U of T students demand ban on war recruiters

STUDENTS CONFRONT BISSELL. Students presented University of Toronto president Claude Bissell (left) with an anti-personnel fragmentation bomb from Vietnam. Bomb was made by Honeywell Corp. which is using U of T facilities to recruit scientists. Committee to End the War activists led by Zane Boyd (right) demanded Bissell bar company from campus. Bissell refused, and instead tossed bomb in the air and joked about his days in the infantry.

CHALLENGE. Socialists in NDP must propel party into active participation in antiwar movement, which plays important role in educating masses of Canadians about nature of imperialism.

Meet socialists in your area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, 861-3018. Université de Montréal, c/o Gilbert Rousseau. Sir George Williams U. Young Socialists, c/o Victor Raymond, 861-3018.
OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365½ Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton.
TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618. U. of T. Young Socialists, c/o Harry Kopyto. York U. Young Socialists, c/o Jim Chisholm, 221-8129.
RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.
HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Box 4324, Station D, 529-9302.
GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.
KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.
KITCHENER-WATERLOO. Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener.
LONDON. c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.
ST. CATHARINES. Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines.
KENORA. c/o Jim Boulton, Box 533, 548-4732.
WINNIPEG. Workers Vanguard, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, Winnipeg, Man., 452-8518.
SASKATOON. c/o Ulirich Fischer, 445-5th Ave. N. #24, 242-8175.
EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644. U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.
VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 688-5924. SFU Young Socialists, c/o Carole Oleniuk, Student Society, SFU, Bby. 2, 688-5924. UBC Young Socialists, c/o AMS, 224-7578.

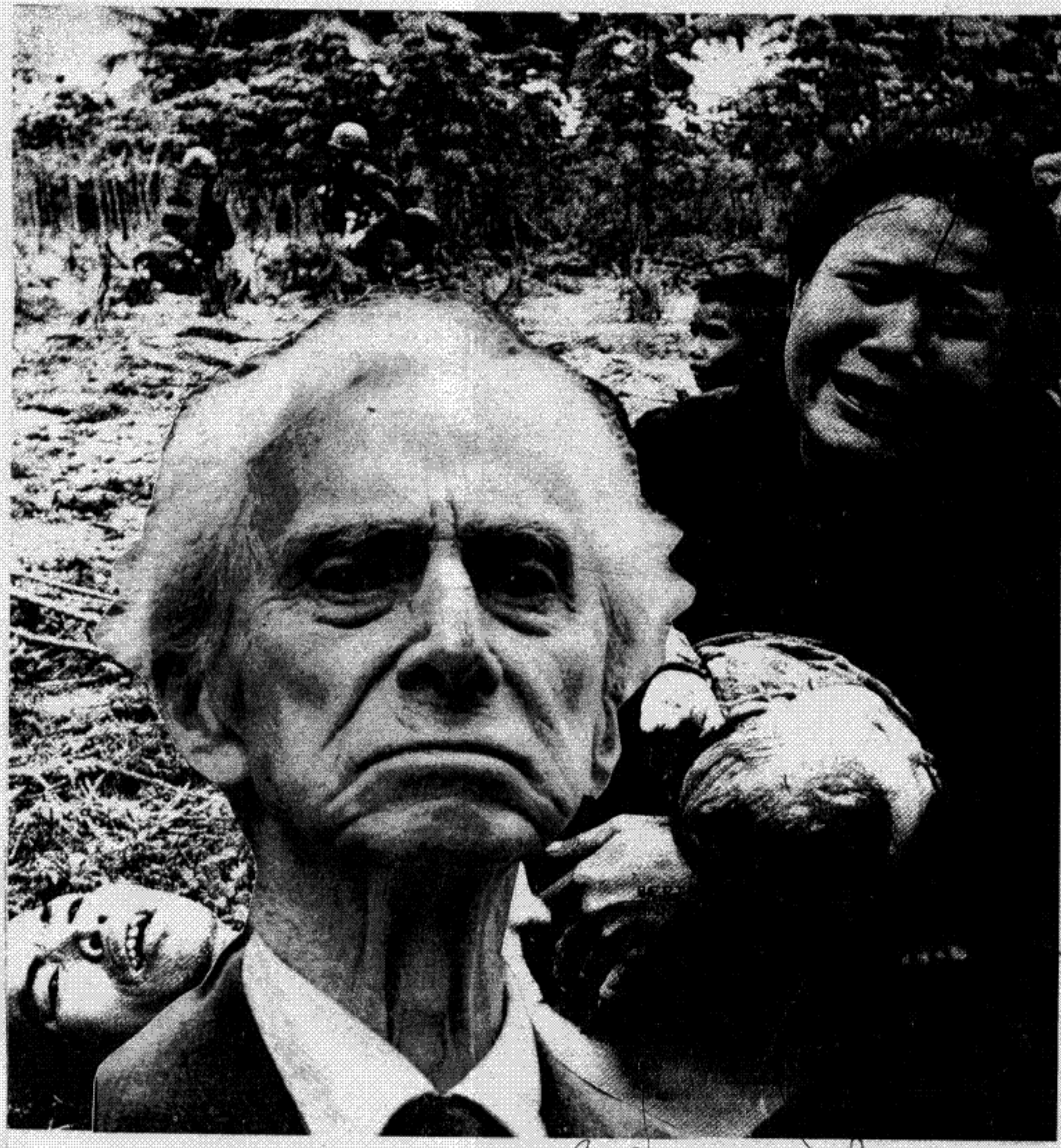
Bosses, gov't, are preparing major wage freeze offensive

See page 3

labor Challenge
15 cents
Vol. 1, No. 1
Feb. 9, 1970

In defense of NDP left caucus

page 6



labor Challenge
#1 Feb. 9 1970

Antiwar movement bigger than ever, Addison reports

"The anti-war movement is larger and more active than ever before," according to George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization committee, just returned from a western tour with the film *In the Year of the Pig.*

More than 5,000 persons attended his meetings, sponsored by local anti-war groups in 11 western cities. Tour stops were: Toronto (600); Ottawa (150); Sudbury (350); Winnipeg (200); Brandon (75); Regina (300); Saskatoon (100); Edmonton (900); Calgary (300); Nanaimo (100); Victoria (400); and Vancouver (1,500). The tour is being continued through southern Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes over the next two months.

Attendance at the meetings was overwhelmingly high school and university students. The response to the film varied from that of the Alberta Board of Censors (whose chairman is facing the courts on a morals charge), which classified the film as "propaganda," to the students of Malsapina College in Nanaimo, B.C. who decided after seeing it to establish an antiwar committee in that area.

Reporting on his tour, George Addison said, "There are active antiwar committees in most cities. The largest and most dynamic section of the movement is the high school students, who are carrying the campaign for assemblies and teachins on the war in four provinces. Three new student committees were established as a result of the tour.

"The NDP and the trade unions," Addison stated, "support the large mobilizations in all areas, but are not for the most part deeply involved in the day to day campaigns of the antiwar movement. One exception to this is the B.C. NDP's plans to show. *In the Year of the Pig* at its June convention.

Addison met with anti-war activists and committees in many of the areas he visited. He reported that "All are enthusiastic about the prospects for the projected Spring Antiwar Offensive. Many groups are trying to relate the war issue to problems facing the working people of Canada, like inflation, poverty and pollution."

Judging from the response this tour, the most successful in the history of the antiwar movement, the 1970 spring offensive will be larger and broader than any previous mobilization of antiwar forces in Canada.

labor Challenge #2 Feb. 23 1970

Plan massive spring antiwar offensive

by Carl Fleming

The largest and most representative antiwar conference in American history met in Cleveland February 14-15, to work out plans for a massive spring offensive against the war in Vietnam. This was the regular conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), a mass movement of students fighting for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

More than 4,000 people, from universities and high schools in almost every state, and representing all the left tendencies on the U.S. campuses, decided to build a week of action, April 13-18, with mass actions centering on April 15. Other antiwar groups, including the Vietnam Moratorium and the New Mobilization Committee, had previously called for actions on April 15, but they were posed as small actions, part of a hodge-podge of activities and campaigns throughout the spring.

The conference that called the massive November 15 actions of close to a million was also held in Cleveland last July 4. However, the number of people registered for that conference, which founded the New Mobilization Committee, was only 1,000. The SMC gathering clearly reflected the new forces that have come into the antiwar movement, and the widespread opposition to Nixon's war against Vietnam.

Two days of intense discussion took place at Cleveland, with many proposals put forward for consideration. The plan that was adopted, by a two-to-one majoirty over all 14 others combined, was proposed by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the SMC: "The character of the April 15 demonstrations should be like that of November 15 in Washington, except that they occur in many cities: they should be a massive, united show of strength behind the central demand for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam."

Other proposals tended to project multi-issue campaigns for the antiwar movement, which could only limit its effectiveness and scope, or ridiculous ultraleft actions which would alienate the very people the movement is trying to reach. Instead of the demand "Bring the Troops Home Now," some of the delegates wanted to substitute slogans which would give explicit support to the National Liberation Front, thus cutting across the support the antiwar movement has from most Americans, particularly the troops, who want to be brought home now, but who are not yet prepared to support the revolutionary NLF.

As well, the conference passed a high school student bill of rights for antiwar organizing, and discussed how to relate the question of Vietnam to questions like women's liberation, inflation, trade unions, ecology, etc.

Judging from the enthusiasm of the vast majority of the assembly in Cleveland, it is clear that the antiwar movement, which has experienced tremendous growth since last summer, will be mounting even greater demonstrations all across the U.S. April 13-18. The messages of solidarity sent to the conference by the Vietnamese freedom fighters will be reciprocated by millions of Americans in the streets, thus deepening the crisis faced by the Nixon administration and the U.S. military machine as they try to continue the war.

Hamilton trade union group formed to oppose Viet war

HAMILTON — The Hamilton Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which has relied mainly on student support in past actions, took a significant step forward recently when it got financial support and endorsement from numerous unions and labor leaders for its showing of The Year of the Pig. About 350 saw the film, with a larger number of non-students and trade unionists than ever before.

As a result of the committee's work, the large Stelco local 1005 of the Steelworkers voted in December to show the film to its own membership.

Around the same time Nancy McDonald, a CUPE delegate, moved in the Labor Council that the council set up a "Peace Committee." This motion was backed by the substantial left block on the Labor Council which had initiated the big anti-labor laws march last year against the Rand Report, although very few of this group had ever made an appearance at the last three major antiwar demonstrations.

The Labor Council executive printed a reply to the motion, opposing it on the grounds that the problem "Who's definition of peace?" would lead to "heated debate on this council floor." They red-baited the motion, too, saying that "History is replete with examples, whether by accident or design, of 'peace movements' becoming 'front organizations' for political parties." Of course, the movers of the motion could have prevented the executive from exploiting the vagueness of "Peace" by coming out and saying in the first place that they wanted an anti-Vietnam war committee. The motion was defeated at the council's January meeting.

On Feb. 1, Nancy McDonald called a meeting which founded the independent Trade Union Peace Committee. An interim executive was elected to broaden its base, monthly meetings are being planned, and as a first activity, the committee is planning to distribute widely the CLC, OFL, independent unions and NDP resolutions in opposition to the Vietnam war.

Interested trade unionists should write to the TUPC, c/ o N. McDonald, Box 4295, Hamilton.

J.L.

labor Challenge #2 Feb. 23 1970

REVIEW

'Year of the Pig' is best Vietnam film

The new film *In the Year of the Pig*, now being shown across Canada by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, presents an historical overview of the war in Vietnam from the end of World War II to the present. It is undoubtedly the best film on Vietnam to date.

Produced in 1969 by the distinguished American documentary-maker, Emile de Antonio, the film was sponsored by leading liberal personalities such as Leonard Bernstein, Abby Rockefeller and Paul Newman. It is a masterful depiction of the effects of the war, on both the aggressors and the defenders.

For the generation who have grown up and come to the antwar movement in the late 60s, *In the Year of the Pig* puts the war in its historical context. Using a wide selection of newsreel and TV film, much of it new to North Americans, de Antonio portrays the terror and brutality of the war by contrasting horror scenes from the battlefield and combat areas with the cynical lying statements of the war's apologists and prosecutors.

We see Eisenhower's foreign secretary, John Foster Dulles outlining the "domino" theory and collective security. We see Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early 50s red-baiting those who oppose French aggression in Indo-China. We see pictures of interrogation and torture of Vietnamese at the hands of American soldiers while General Westmoreland explains how prisoners are treated according to the Geneva Conventions.

Kennedy, Rusk, McNamara, Humphrey, Johnson, Johnson and Nixon all have their say. . .but so do the Vietnamese victims of these war criminals.

Particularly striking is the stature and strength of the Vietnamese themselves, who are struggling and fighting back against the tremendous firepower of the U.S. military machine. De Antonio pictures a united people who can "saw off the American giant at the knees, and bring him down."

There are some shortcomings in the film. The American GIs are presented as nothing but a confused "bunch of killers." The development of the tremendous antiwar movement in the U.S. itself, which extends into the Army, is practically ignored. In short, the film demonstrates little hope for the real America, which can end the war and bring the troops home.

Yet despite these shortcomings, the film is a powerful statement on the war. At one point, North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong is quoted as telling Bernard Fall that U.S. support for the Saigon regime represents "not a vicious circle, but a downward spiral." It is this "downward spiral," from 1945 to the present, that *In the Year of the Pig* so clearly and forcefully presents.

In the Year of the Pig is available from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., Toronto 2, Ont.

by Carl Fleming

labor Challenge

#3 Mar. 9 1970

Nixon escalates U.S. war on Laos

By John Wilson

President Nixon, humiliated by the U.S. failure to defeat the Vietnamese revolution, claims he doesn't want more Vietnams and intends to cut American "involvement" in Asia. But mounting evidence of escalating U.S. intervention in the Laotian civil war threatens the imminent creation of exactly "another Vietnam."

There are now more CIA men in civilian clothes, but carrying M16 rifles, in Laos, than there were "special advisors" in Vietnam when Kennedy was president, Maryland Senator Charles Mathias stated Feb. 26.

The March 1 issue of the *New York Times* gives $50 million as the amount of military aid provided annually by Washington to the rightist-"neutralist" regime of Souvanna Phouma. It also trains, equips and "advises" the Royal armed forces in their losing battle with the Pathet Lao, (the Laotian counterpart of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.)

Probably the most significant aspect of imperialist intervention is the same kind of genocidal saturation bombing that the U.S. employs in Vietnam, particularly of the Plain of Jars, a highly strategic area recently captured in a spectacular victory by the revolutionary forces.

A Soviet government statement, quoted in the same issue of the *Times*, says that U.S. planes based in Thailand and on American aircraft carriers "daily fly more than 400 missions to Laos. . ." The U.S. has not denied this report.

A debate held last Dec. 15 in the U.S. Senate, but held up for publication until Jan. 21 for censorship, demonstrated just how close the parallel is between Laos and Vietnam.

Administration spokesmen gave the same fraudulent rationale about "aggression" by North Vietnam. But Senate majority leader Mansfield revealed the real relationship of forces when he stated of the Vientiane puppet regime, "if we did not support the Laotians, they would not last for a fortnight. . .that is common knowledge."

Significantly, Senate "doves" on Vietnam, such as Fulbright, offered opposition only to the extent of a mealy-mouthed amendment to government policy which *could* be interpreted to prohibit use of U.S. combat troops in Laos. They were 100 per cent in favor of the bombing.

All they were really concerned about was the secrecy of operations in Laos, and the fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had been, so they claimed, kept in the dark. They warned that this same process took place as the U.S. got more and more deeply committed to its adventure in Vietnam.

Pathet Lao fighters

With the massive defeat in the Plain of Jars, U.S. imperialism faces the same dilemma in Laos as it did in Vietnam. In order to prevent the possibility of a total victory for the Pathet Lao (which belying U.S. attempts to present it as a "front" for North Vietnam, controls at least half the country) the Pentagon would have to massively escalate its present high level of bombing, and probably send in combat troops. This however poses grave dangers for the Nixon administration at home.

Clearly the "opposition" of "doves" like Fulbright cannot be relied on; it doesn't deserve the name. What can be decisive in preventing another full-scale intervention in Laos as in Vietnam is determined and consistent mass opposition under the leadership of the antiwar movement in the U.S. and internationally.

In Canada, the movement should zero in on Canada's role on the International Control Commission in Laos. The Canadian ICC "observers" have not opened their mouths about the American bombing. They are playing the same role of apologists for U.S. imperialist policy as they are in Vietnam.

labor Challenge

#4 Mar. 9, 1970

Spring antiwar offensive Apr. 18

by Carl Fleming

More than 100 anti-war activists from Toronto and area attended the February 21 conference of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The conference called a mass march on Ottawa for April 18.

The proposal for the march came from the VMC executive, presented by Rev. W.G. Zwicker. A train load of demonstrators from Toronto and western Ontario will go to Ottawa on April 18. Plans include a mass march, a rally on Parliament Hill, and a rock and folk festival at Ottawa's Civic Center. The proposal was adopted unanimously.

The conference was opened with an address by John Brown, an NDP member of the provincial parliament. He identified the struggle to end the war in this country with the struggle of the freedom fighters in Vietnam. "We've got to be more like an army, more disciplined, like the Vietnamese, who are an example all over the world."

"We have to reach out, and organize those sections of society who have no stake in maintaining the present system, like the poor, those who earn less than $3,000 per year," Brown stated.

George Addison, executive secretary of the VMC in Toronto, reported on the past work of the committee and on the recent conference of the Student Mobilization Committee in Cleveland, which drew 4,000 activists from across the U.S. "In Cleveland, the anti-war movement decided not to 'go underground', but to build a mass movement above ground. The warmakers couldn't smash October 15. They couldn't smash November 15. Because it was too big, too broad.

"So let us also learn that lesson," Addison continued, "Let's not limit ourselves, or diffuse our movement. Let's build an offensive that can involve thousands of Canadians, against the continuing aggression by the U.S. and against the Canadian government's continuing support for that genocidal war."

Addison told the conference that "The time has never been so right for us to relate the war issue to questions like inflation, pollution etc."

Workshops were held on women's liberation, defense, special effects, labor and NDP, and high school.

Joe Young, organizer of the Young Socialists in Toronto, noted that Canada's complicity in the war had increased over the past few months. He cited the chemical and biological warfare research and the sending of 600 Canadian troops for the third time to Jamaica for counter-insurgency training.

The conference adjourned to a militant demonstration at the U.S. consulate, to protest the Chicago "conspiracy trial," and the repression against the Black Panthers in the U.S. Chanting "Jail Judge Hoffman, free the five," about 400 picketed the consulate for about an hour. Spokesmen for the VMC, the Black Liberation Front, and Red, White and Black, made statements, in addition to a speech by Paul Boutelle, former vice-presidential candidate for the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

labor Challenge #3 Mar. 9, 1970

More than 1,500 mostly students, marched on Parliament Hill March 1 t protest Trudeau government's complicity in U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam.

Ottawa rally protests complicity in Viet war

by Ian Angus

OTTAWA, Feb. 28 — Over 1,500 demonstrators, the majority English-speaking students from Montreal, marched on Parliament Hill today to demand an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Canadian government support of the war.

The march was called by the McGill University Moratorium Committee. The main demands as presented by organizers were immediate and complete withdrawal of troops from Vietnam; a Canadian embargo on the sale of strategic war goods to the U.S., including nickel and copper; a more sympathetic attitude by the Canadian government to war resisters seeking refuge in Canada; and Canadian initiatives to revitalize the International Control Commission (ICC) in Southeast Asia.

The action began Friday evening with a showing of the anti-war film "In the Year of the Pig" and a folk concert attended by 700 people. On Saturday the participants marched through downtown Ottawa to a rally with speakers including T.C. Douglas and Laurier LaPierre of the NDP, Tory Dalton Camp, Claire Culhane, chairman of the Quebec Voice of Women, and George Addison of the Toronto-based Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

The thrust of the action was blunted by a considerable amount of political confusion on the part of the organizers. A spokesman for the McGill Moratorium simultaneously demanded an end to Canada's complicity in the war, and a strengthened International Control Commission. The ICC has been one of the major bodies on which the Canadian government has served U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, and its very existence runs counter to the Vietnamese demand for self-determination.

This political confusion was increased when the organizers refused the request of a small group of Maoists, members of the Canadian Communist Movement (ML), to have a representative included in the speakers list. The Maoists had previously attempted unsuccessfully to drown out all the speakers with chants of "escalate people's war."

The Maoists used this exclusion as pretext for a scandalous attempt to disrupt the rally, seizing the mike to prevent Laurier LaPierre from speaking. Ill-prepared for the disruption, the organizers called on the crowd to disperse; one speaker, Claire Culhane, even appealed to RCMP officers present to disperse the rally.

While confusion reigned on the speakers platform, the demonstrators showed firm opposition to the Maoist disruption, chanting "Peace Now" and "Withdraw U.S. Troops", and listening to George Addison of the VMC briefly describe plans for the April 18th Vietnam mobilization now being prepared.

Despite the serious shortcomings of the action, its size clearly indicated the growth of anti-war sentiment in Canada, particularly among student youth, and bodes well for the "spring offensive" now underway against the war which will culminate in the anti-war March on Ottawa April 18.

labor Challenge #3 Mar. 9 1970

Labor, NDP unite behind Vancouver antiwar action

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — The Vietnam Action Committee (VAC) in Vancouver decided to launch a spring anti-war offensive at a highly successful conference held here on February 28. A wide range of building actions including speakouts, film showings, actions against campus complicity and for Vietnam assemblies in B.C. high schools will culminate in a mass demonstration and rally on April 18. The demonstration is planned to coincide with the mass march against Trudeau planned by the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee to be held in Ottawa on the same day.

Registefed participants in the VAC conference totalled 124 of which about 25 were high school students and an equal number from universities. The B.C. New Democratic Party sent its deputy leader, Eileen Dailly, MLA, as a delegate and the B.C. Federation of Labor was represented by Federation secretary Ray Haynes and by George Johnson, also on the Federation executive.

The conference opened with a report by Wesley Weinhold of the Seattle Student Mobilization Committee on the giant SMC Conference held recently in Cleveland. Greetings were read from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee and Ray Haynes spoke on the question of how the war affects Canadian workers.

"The government and the employers are trying to make labor bear the burden of inflation. Well, labor isn't going to bear the burden of inflation. Inflation is caused by price hiking and the Vietnam war," said Haynes.

He said the American people are trapped by the two party system — that both Johnson and Nixon had run as candidates who favored an end to the war and then carried out the war just the same. He pointed to the NDP which has a clear anti-Vietnam war policy as the party which all who are opposed to the war should support.

The afternoon session reaffirmed the three basic demands of the Vietnam Action Committee: Withdraw U.S. Troops, End Canada's Complicity and Self-determination for Vietnam.

Workshops were held on labor, the NDP, high schools, universities, churches and women's liberation. The women's liberation workshop was chaired by Janiel Jolley, protest candidate in the recent Miss Canadian Universities contest and the labor workshop was chaired by George Johnson, president of the Meatcutters Union and a vice-president of the BCFL.

The BCFL spokesmen agreed to circularize all locals urging support of the VAC April 18 demonstration, to head up a labor contingent under a B.C. Federation banner, to advertise the demonstration on the weekly Federation radio broadcast in Vancouver, and to urge support actions by labor councils across B.C.

The enthusiastic conference closed by electing a committee of 23 people including activists from the labor movement, the grape boycott committee, the Vancouver Women's Caucus, the fast-growing high school committee, Students Against the War in Vietnam, and others. The incoming VAC was granted power to add delegates from organizations wishing to affiliate and the campus committees have already declared their intention, along with several other groups to do just that.

Communist party forces attended as observers. They intervened primarily to attack the open and non-exclusionary character of both the VAC and the actions it organizes. The conference was unimpressed.

The conference was followed by a party on Saturday evening complete with a live rock band. About 120 young people attended. Prospects for the spring offensive are clearly very good in Vancouver and B.C.

labor Challenge

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Vol. 1 No. 5
April 6, 1970

CANADA — APOLOGIST FOR U.S. AGGRESSION

U.S. out of Laos, Cambodia! Canada quit ICC spy body!

By John Riddell

Recent weeks have brought irrefutable evidence of the ominous extension of Washington's south-east Asian war from Vietnam into Laos and Cambodia. With it has come a familiar cry from the U.S. puppet regimes in these countries. The International Control Commission must intervene to investigate "aggression" by the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front. The invitation has been made for Canadian members of the three-nation control commission to play the role they know so well of apologists for a new stage in U.S. aggression.

U.S. aggression in Laos is so far advanced that U.S. bombing there has now exceeded the level reached in North Vietnam two years ago. Figures released by the Pentagon March 23 confirmed previous reports of this fact.

Despite Washington's assurances that U.S. troops will not be sent to Laos, reports quoted by U.S. senator Mathias Feb. 26 "show that there are more armed CIA advisors" in Laos today than there were in Vietnam when Kennedy began the escalation of that conflict. The Toronto Globe and Mail reported March 23 that not only CIA agents working under cover of the U.S. embassy but regular U.S. army officers were directing the defense of the threatened base of Long Cheng. In addition, on March 20, two Thai batallions were flown into the Laos conflict by a CIA-chartered airline.
by a CIA-chartered airline.

In the face of this sustained U.S. aggression, the U.S. sponsored premier of Laos brazenly claimed March 26 that the only foreign troops present in his country were North Vietnamese, rejecting a Pathet Lao peace proposal on this pretext and proposing that the International Control Commission take action against these foreign troops.

The calls for ICC intervention in Cambodia followed the collapse of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's neutralist regime on March 18 which placed that nation in the hands of a rightist regime fully committed to crushing the Vietnamese revolution and firmly on the side of Washington and its Saigon allies.

Deposed prince Sihanouk was quick to point to the CIA as probable organizer of the coup. He referred to supposedly spontaneous demonstrations in which pamphlets, placards and signs appeared simultaneously in various parts of the kingdom — some of them in English, in a country where the mass of the people speak only Khmer and French.

Violations of Cambodian sovereignty by the U.S. military, including both ground invasions and air attacks, have been well documented for many months. The most notorious case was an air assault on the Cambodian post at Dak Dam in November 1969 and the slaughtering of its defenders. In the week following the coup the New York Times reported use of Saigon and U.S. planes, as well as Saigon artillery inside Cambodia in support of the new regime.

Yet reading from the same stale script, the new rulers of Cambodia called on March 23 for the ICC to return to their territory to arrange the removal of — yes, North Vietnamese troops.

Canada's record on the ICC is one of consistent support for the most blatant acts of U.S. aggression. The North Vietnamese army newspaper *Nanh Dan* summed up Canada's record on the ICC as follows on Jan. 28, 1967:

"The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and supported the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S., both in South and North Vietnam."

Only a year after the ICC's creation to supervise the 1954 Geneva accords, Canadian members issued a minority report justifying the abrogation of the accords by the U.S.-installed Diem regime. When the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began, Canada followed up quickly with another minority report

(See page 7)

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. . . Break from ICC!

ontinued from page 1

upporting the U.S. claims of infiltration nto the South which Washington had used o justify the bombing.

Canadian ICC members made no report n the U.S. bombing of Hanoi, even when heir own headquarters was hit by a U.S. omb. What were they doing? Gerald lark of the Montreal Star described in May 1967 how they functioned in reality as pies for the U.S. intelligence agencies, nd his charges were never denied.

As for Cambodia and Laos, Ottawa lready has a record of blatant complicity with the Pentagon. In January 1969 the ICC xtended its investigations to Laos on the equest of the U.S. backed government. In Cambodia last May, Prince Sihanouk penly linked Canada through the ICC with U.S.-Saigon crimes, and subsequently usted the ICC from Cambodian territory. odian territory.

The real target of U.S. action in Laos is not "North Vietnamese infiltration" but the social revolution in Laos, through which the rebel Pathet Lao has gained control over two-thirds of the country. It has demonstrated by its recent military victories that only massive U.S. intervention can save the puppet Souvanna Phouma regime. As in Vietnam the U.S. war is directed against the Laotian people themselves, a third of whom, according to U.S. senator McGovern, have already been killed, wounded or made homeless.

In Cambodia, it was Sihanouk's own handpicked premier and first deputy premier that led the coup, culminating a right-ward course underway, under U.S. pressure, for several months. Already at the beginning of this year the government gave control of the key export trade back into private hands, and granted economic concessions to foreign capital. It is not clear to what extent the coup was motivated by fear of the insurgent Cambodian guerrilla organizations, but its intent to block the extension of the south-east Asian revolution to Cambodia is evident to all.

Sihanouk himself has now called for ICC intervention in Cambodia, to hold "free elections" which could reestablish his authority. His complicity in Cambodia's recent rightward course must be seen as the framework for this call. Such a form of ICC intervention, far from establishing the sovereignty of the Cambodian people, could lead at best to a new realignment among the Cambodian ruling caste to which Sihanouk belongs.

U.S. aggression is now threatening to escalate the Vietnam war to encompass all of former French Indochina including Laos and Cambodia, as well as neighboring Thailand, in the genocidal conflict. The coming antiwar demonstrations of April 11-18 can deal a powerful blow against this by mobilizing hundreds of thousands on this continent for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied foreign troops from south-east Asia.

We in Canada have a particular responsibility on this day of protest. We must firmly proclaim that the answer lies only in self-determination by the peoples of these countries, free of any foreign intervention, be it under the flag of the U.S. army, the United Nations or the International Control Commission. We must tell Ottawa: Hands off south-east Asia! End Canadian complicity!

labor Challenge #6 Apr. 30 1970

Continue antiwar protests

Fourth International urges

The following appeal was issued March 9 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The Fourth International has been in the forefront of the international campaign to defend the Vietnamese revolution. In many countries, including the United States and Canada, its supporters have long been recognized as leaders in building and maintaining the antiwar movement. The success of this movement, and its continued growth in the months ahead, depends on strict adherence to the principles consistently defended by the Trotskyists — calling for the building of a broad, mass united front movement against the war based on the program of immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

* * *

It has been five years since U.S. imperialism massively escalated its military intervention in Vietnam to save its tottering client regime in Saigon from the revolutionary wave about to engulf it. The purpose of Washington's aggression has been and remains to crush the national liberation struggle in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia as a whole, preserving an enclave there for world imperialism; to weaken the workers state in North Vietnam in preparation for rolling back the revolution there if possible; to contain and threaten the Chinese revolution; and to set an "example" to demoralize revolutionary forces everywhere. The war is part and parcel of imperialism's overall counterrevolutionary drive to contain the world revolution and reverse it if that should appear feasible.

But imperialism didn't reckon with the power of resistance of the Vietnamese people, who have prevented the victory of the most powerful military machine on earth through tremendous sacrifice and heroic effort. The revelations concerning the massacre at Songmy only lifted the corner on the horror of the war that Washington has unleashed on the Vietnamese. Only the rich and corrupt support and are supported by the imperialists, with the result that the war is necessarily aimed at the vast majority of Vietnamese — the workers, peasants, and the poor. It is a war against a whole people, with women and babies being machine-gunned, old men being thrown into wells with grenades tossed in after them — not to mention the regular, mechanized terror of the systematic bombings, the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people, the mass destruction of crops and forests to such an extent that scientists speculate that the very ecology of Vietnam has been seriously damaged for a long time to come. The resistance of the Vietnamese people can only be called heroic. Their struggle has provided a revolutionary counterthrust against imperialism's offensive on an international scale, giving inspiration to a new generation of revolutionary youth throughout the world and — most important — for the development of a massive antiw movement inside the USA itself.

The power of the resistance put up by t Vietnamese, coupled with the devel ment of a growing antiwar movement the United States, forced Washington make a tactical shift. Johnson abdicate the bombing of North Vietnam was halte the Paris talks began, and token wi drawals of U.S. forces were made. Nix made hints that he had a "plan" to end t war. All this was intended to lull antiw forces inside the United States and arou the world with the idea that the war w soon coming to an end, while Washingt used the time so gained to continue a even escalate the war.

The planes formerly used in the bombi of North Vietnam are now used in steppe up bombing of the South. Nixon reveal that his "plan" was for the "Vi namization" of the war, a semantic ho designed to cover up his real strategy o prolonged war. Washington hopes this w eventually force the Vietnamese to acce a Korean-type "settlement." And, f from beginning the process of withdraw U.S. imperialism has widened the scope the war internationally, first to Thaila and Laos, and possibly soon to Cambod

The level of bombing in Laos, now a mittedly much more extensive th bombing of supply lines, has reach 20,000 sorties a month, the level of t previous bombing of North Vietnam. T U.S. has trained a "loyal" army in La under General Vang Pao, which early th year forcibly evacuated most of the 150,0 civilians living on the Plaine des Jarre When revolutionary forces smashed the puppet troops and drove them off t Plaine on February 21, the U.S. sent in seventy-five of the B-52 bombers belongi to the Strategic Air Command in a fut attempt to aid the Vang Pao forces.

The American antiwar movement h been in the forefront in exposing Nixon phony "peace" maneuvers and remobilizing masses in action against t war. Last October 15 saw demonstratio in every city and many towns across t United States. And on November 15 the was a militant demonstration of 800,000 Washington and 250,000 in San Francisc the greatest demonstration in the histo of the United States. The Stude Mobilization Committee to End the War Vietnam and other antiwar groups ha called for new actions against the w April 15-18 in the United States.

The Fourth International appeals to a revolutionary working-class and you militants not to be taken in by the i perialists' smoke screen, to understan that the counterrevolutionary aggressio continues and that the Vietnam wa remains a key pivot of the internation class struggle. The Fourth Internation calls on all workers organizations, t students and youth, all who support th right of Vietnamese self-determinatio and all who are fighting for the victory the Vietnamese revolution to demonstra their solidarity with the Vietname people and with the antiwar movement the U.S. in massive struggles this spring

Labor Challenge

Thousands protest Vietnam war

The mass antiwar demonstrations on April 15 in the United States and April 18 in Canada were powerful evidence of the continuing popular opposition to the imperialist aggression in south-east Asia.

In the U.S., hundreds of thousands marched to "Bring the Troops Home Now!" The actions were nearly as large as the mammoth October 15 Moratorium last year despite a virtual press blackout beforehand that matched the deliberately limited coverage afterward. One hundred thousand rallied in Boston, 40,000 in New York, 25,000 in Chicago, 20,000 in San Francisco, 12,000 in Detroit, 6,000 in Houston, etc. while 150,000 New York students boycotted classes as part of a nationwide campus strike called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The biggest Canadian protest was in Ottawa, where over 2,000 rallied at Parliament Hill to condemn the Trudeau government's complicity in the war. A special train chartered by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee brought over 700 from Toronto and southern Ontario.

NDP deputy leader David Lewis, addressing the rally, denounced what he called "U.S. imperialism" and called for U.S. withdrawal of its troops "without conditions and without delay" from all of Indochina. Joan Kuyek, president of the Ontario Tenants Association, said that the war was a prime factor in our escalating rents, taxes and food bills. Expressing her solidarity with the main slogans of the demonstration, she denounced the Canadian government for "selling arms to the country that wants to be the landlord of the world."

VMC executive secretary George Addison's hard-hitting speech took up the main demands of the brief that Trudeau had refused to hear from the antiwar group. The brief calls on the government to "make an immediate statement opposing the new escalation of the war and call on the United States to withdraw all its troops immediately from Vietnam, Laos, and all of south-east Asia." It demands an embargo on arms shipments to the U.S., and on the export of strategic materials, and for stopping all war research by government bodies, universities and private research establishments. And it calls for Canadian withdrawl from the International Control Commission and its disbandment.

Other speakers included Jean Paré, of the United Electrical Workers, Gil Levine of CUPE, Daphne Kelgard of the Women's Liberation Movement and a U.S. deserter. The rally was chaired by Luken Robinson and Elizabeth Angus of the VMC in Toronto and Ottawa.

A threat by a Maoist group to smash the demonstration failed to materialize. Obviously deterred by the impressive marshalling of the VMC, these ultra-leftists held their own small action at the U.S. embassy while the main march was proceeding through the streets nearby.

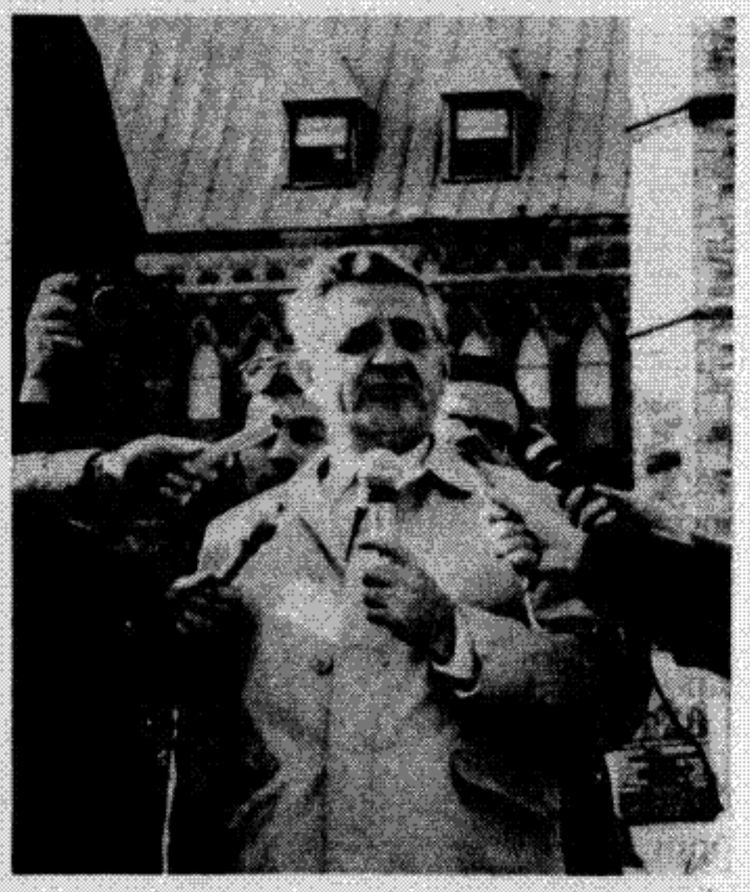

photo by White

David Lewis addresses Ottawa antiwar rally.

phot

OTTAWA, APRIL 18. Demonstrators march up Rideau Street Parliament Hill.

EDMONTON — More than 800 marched and rallied here, marking a high point for the antiwar movement in Edmonton. Colorful banners of the various contingents indicated the many new forces who participated in building the action: Women's Liberation, the Native Youth Society, University of Alberta Vietnam Action Committee, high school Students Against the War in Vietnam, etc.

Art Manuel of the Native Youth League which sent a contingent of about 50 marchers, told the rally that "we are seeing the same people who invaded our land in 1492 invade Vietnam and commit the same rape and murder they did on ourselves."

Another speaker, Gordon Wright, president of the Alberta NDP, said that the "old-line parties are enthralled with American imperialism and industry in Canada. They derive their money from that industry and cannot afford to offend them." He urged the crowd to support the NDP if they wanted Canada to speak out against the war.

Wendy Stevenson, chairman of the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam which sponsored the march, urged the demonstrators to become active in the antiwar movement on a consistent basis and to continue to build a mass, street-oriented movement which will effectively halt Canada's complicity in the war. She gave notice of the next major campaign to be carried by the Edmonton Committee for the right of the antiwar movement to march on the main thoroughfare, Jasper Avenue; particularly for the removal of an unfair bylaw which gives an appointed police official the sole authority to determine the time and route of any march with no channels available for appealing his decision.

WINNIPEG — A two-mile antiwar march here on April 18 culminated with a rally of 400 at the Civic Center. The main demands of the demonstrators were for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, as well as from Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, and for an immediate end to Canada's complicity in the U.S. war effort.

The featured speaker at the rally was Melville Watkins, a leader of the "Waffle" left within the NDP. Watkins noted in his speech that Canada's relative affluence in the world is due in large measure to the fact that it ranks high as a link in "the long chain of American controlled power."

"We must stop being an errand boy for the U.S.," he said.

Arnie Mintz of the Young Socialists urged newcomers to the antiwar movement to continue their support and to take an active role in building other social

→ P. 2

photo by Trew

Vancouver

← p. 1

movements.

The speaker from the Maoist Canadian Communist Party proposed that, rather than listening to the remaining speakers, demonstrators should immediately set off on a second march to the U.S. consulate. Mitch Podolak, chairman of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, cut across this disruptive move by taking a vote on the question; this produced a crushing defeat for the Maoists. After the last speaker, a solitary band of nine Maoists marched on to the U.S. consulate.

At the conclusion of the rally, Mitch Podolak was threatened with a summons for using a loudspeaker. The loudspeaker was used in defiance of a city council directive forbidding the use of any sound system at the rally. The directive was an obvious attempt to spoil the event and constituted a violation of the civil liberties of the speakers and their audience. Individuals from various groups have expressed their solidarity with Podolak and a defense committee is already being planned.

— Murray Smith

VANCOUVER — Eight hundred antiwar activists turned out here April 18 in a chilling, relentless rain.

The march and rally were organized by the Vietnam Action Committee, a broadly based coalition which includes representatives of the B.C. Federation of Labor and the B.C. New Democratic Party.

March organizers attribute the relatively small size of the Vancouver action to the bad weather and the virtual press blackout of the week of action in the U.S. which preceded the demonstration.

A tremendous publicity campaign reached thousands of British Columbians before the action and the demonstration had the support of every major labor organization, student councils, NDP constituency associations and the NDY, Women's Caucus, United Farm Workers, high schoolers against the war, the Young Socialists, the League for Socialist Action and other political and community groups.

Speakers at the courthouse rally included Cy Gonick, an NDP MLA Manitoba, Ray Haynes, secretary of t B.C. Federation of Labor, Hilda Thoma chairwoman of the VAC and V executive secretary Carole Oleniuk. Re Kent of the Unitarian Church and Hi School Students Against the War Vietnam spokesman Duncan McLean d not have the opportunity to speak owing disruptive actions by two groups duri the rally.

Although they had been allowed to spea earlier, at the march assembly point, t Communist Party of Canada (ML) forc consciously and deliberately disrupted t rally in the tradition of Stalinist goon a tacks.

The Maoists were spurred on and e couraged by the non-serious an destructive role of the so-called Yippie anarchist and drug-oriented element About 40-50 Yippies joined the march e route.

When the march reached the courthou most marchers left to escape the chill an wet and the crowd dwindled to about 30 While the rally and speeches proceede the Yippies and Maoists chanted slogan such as "Escalate Peoples War," "Deat to Social Democracy" and "Anarch now." The Maoists began to move agains the speakers platform but VAC marshal stood firm and would not let them pass.

A fracas broke out. The Yippies burs out with screams and chants while th Maoists attacked the platform. The a tackers were repulsed but almost all th war demonstrators had left so the VA organizers simply ended the rally and le the courthouse square to the disrupters.

In spite of the best efforts of Maoists an Yippies to prevent it the march and mos of the rally to protest aggression agains the Vietnamese went off as scheduled. It was clear that the 800 who marched in th rain against the widening war in Indochin reflect the kind of dedication that will buil a massive action next time around.

The Vietnam Action Committee ha called on all opponents of the war to aid i that task and to ensure that the next actio will be so big that the anti-democrati disrupters of anti-war actions are isolate and thus defused.

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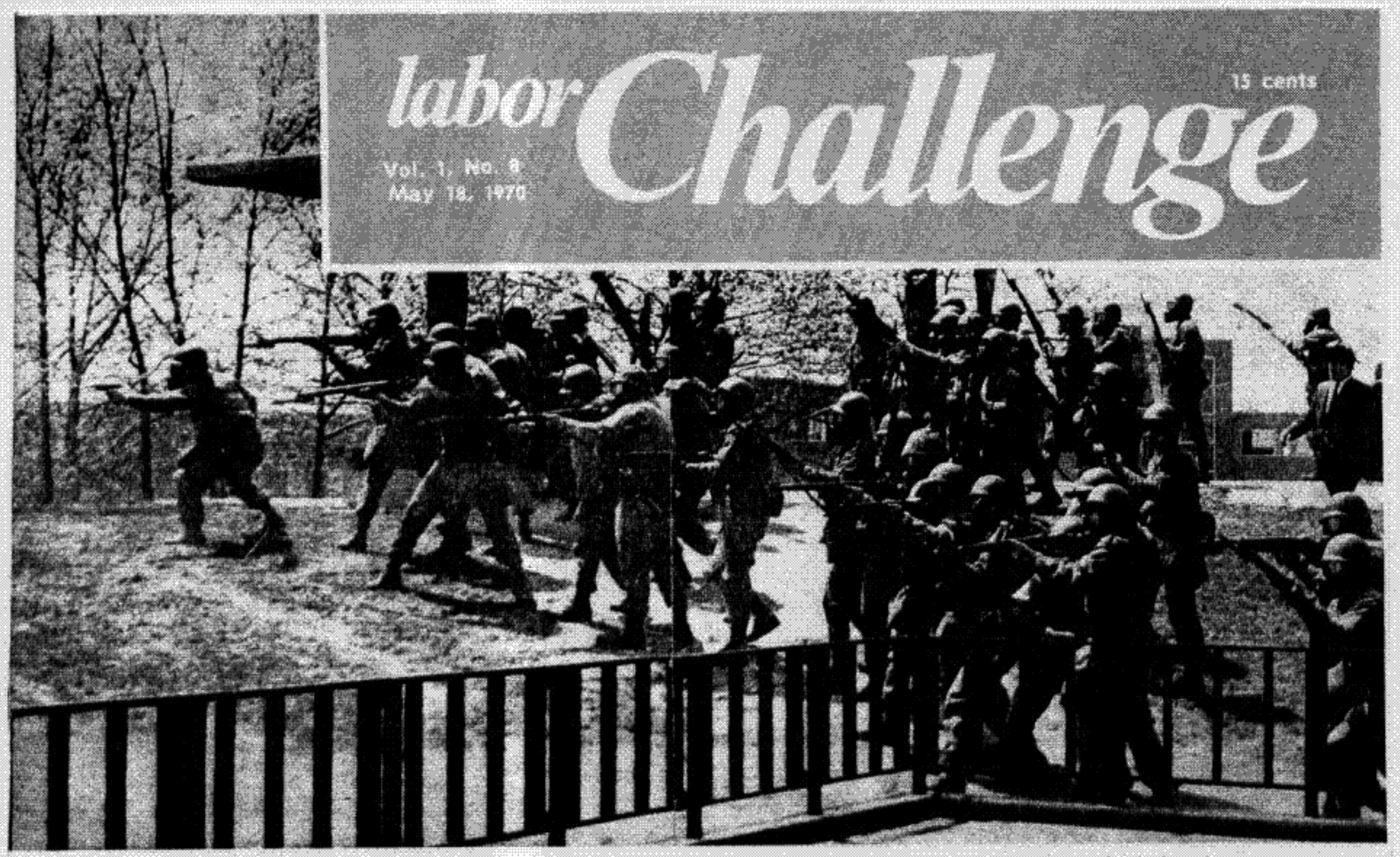
May 18, 1970



ON PULLED THE TRIGGER. Ohio National Guardsmen fire at antiwar students of Kent State University, killing four and injuring about 15.

Student strike sweeps U.S.

y 12 — Nixon's decision to invade bodia, and the massacre at Kent State ersity, have provoked massive an- r actions throughout the U.S., and onstrations in Canada and around the d.

ithin hours of the brutal, unprovoked ting of Kent students by National rdsmen, hundreds of campuses, most hem already experiencing mass onstrations against the U.S. ression in Indochina, were struck by ents. Classes ceased on virtually y campus in the United States, and t are still shut down. The mass onstrations reached a peak in hington May 9, where over 100,000 ed outside the White House.

e Student Mobilization Committee in hington announced May 7 that the pus strike has reached "proportions recedented in the country's history."

On a growing number of campuses," SMC states, "the strike has advanced n 'shut down' to 'open it up' as the war university. Campus facilities have n passing into the hands of the pus community — students, faculty mbers and campus workers. They are g these facilities as centers from ch to organize and mobilize in effective on this daily mounting antiwar sen- ent of the population as a whole. This is evitalization of the colleges and the inning of their reconstruction in ac- dance with the proclaimed humanistic ls of higher education."

he Berkeley campus of the University California is one of those antiwar puses. A special issue of the U.S. ialist weekly The Militant — the second week — reports that a mass rally there y 6 of 15,000 students, faculty and ployees adopted a seven-point program action seeking "to reconstitute the versity as a center for organizing inst the war in Southeast Asia." rrespondents Alan Wald and Jean vage report:

"University facilities have been used by students and faculty for several days to ganize the massive antiwar sentiment of sections of the population in this area. ther than a strike against the univer- y, the university community has taken r the university facilities to use them to fil the needs of that community. . . The dent government offices at Berkeley ve become a statewide and, to some gree, national strike center for the rrent protest."

Writing in the same issue of The Militant, Susan Lamont, national secretary of the Young Socialist notes that the students who have assumed control of university facilities "have taken two essential steps to win over the overwhelming majority of the students and faculty to establish and maintain the antiwar university: They have held mass meetings which discuss and decide the policies to be followed; they have elected as the leadership a united strike committee broader than any single campus organization can be."

The perspective, Lamont notes, is one of reaching out into the off-campus communities to mobilize new forces against the war.

Significantly, some sections of organized labor are beginning to respond. The national convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees — eighth largest union in the AFL-CIO, passed a resolution May 7 urging "immediate and total withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Southeast Asia."

Repeated solidarity actions were held throughout the week of the Kent shootings in cities across Canada — up to 500 in Vancouver and Montreal, 300 in Hamilton, 300 in Ottawa, 200 in London, close to 100 in Winnipeg. The biggest was in Toronto, where largely spontaneous demonstrations outside the U.S. consulate during the week culminated in a mass rally of between 5 and 8,000 May 9.

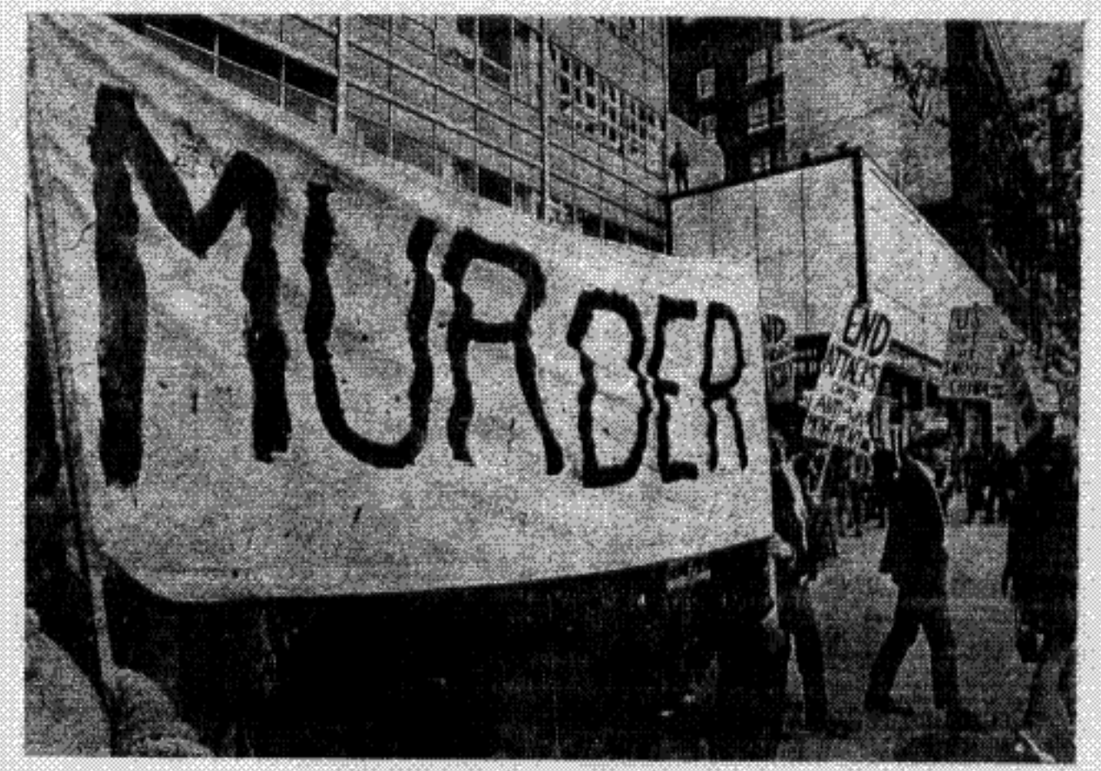
Carole Oleniuk, executive secretary of the Vietnam Action Committee in Vancouver, summed up the general thrust of the Canadian protests, when she told a May 6 rally at the U.S. consulate: "The murder of the Kent Four is an attack on us all. The best solidarity that can be expressed is for us to continue in the streets. As long as Nixon continues to widen the war, and as long as the Canadian government supports this policy, we'll be in the streets protesting."

The antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada is now preparing to make the next major demonstrations, May 30, the biggest and most effective mobilization ever for immediate, total withdrawal from Indochina.

Why did Nixon do it ?

labor Challenge

#8 May 18 1970



Vancouver demonstration.

by Dick Fidler

MAY 12 - Millions around the world are protesting Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia. But not Mitchell Sharp. The external affairs minister told the House May 1, "I deeply regret that the United States government *has considered it necessary* to take this step." As if even this back-handed endorsation wasn't a clear enough expression of his sympathy, he quickly added, "But we are somewhat reassured that President Nixon has given an assurance of the limited nature of these operations and that United States forces will be withdrawn once their immediate objectives are achieved."

Sharp and his Liberal cabinet colleagues are prepared to accept and be "reassured" by anything Washington does, so completely do they see their own imperialist interests linked with those of the U.S. State department.

The rest of us, however, may be forgiven some shock and anger at Nixon's move, which constitutes the most serious escalation of the war in Southeast Asia since the U.S. decision to bomb North Vietnam and commit massive land forces in the South.

Nixon points to so-called sanctuaries of the National Liberation Front in Cambodia to excuse his invasion. But no major base has yet been found, despite all the attempts of military propagandists to come up with a significant "victory."

The current escalation really started with the March 18 CIA-engineered coup that overthrew Sihanouk and installed a clique of pro-American generals. The Lon Nol junta immediately announced that they would drive the NLF off Cambodian soil. In fact what they did was permit six major forays into Cambodia by troops of the Saigon regime acting under orders from American generals. This was followed by wholesale massacres of unarmed Vietnamese citizens of Cambodia by troops of the Lon Nol regime, precipitating a social crisis in the country and deliberately provoking a reaction from the NLF in defense of the lives of their compatriots.

It was the obvious inability of the Pnompenh government to counter the thrust of the NLF and the swiftly expanding forces of native Cambodian insurgents that provoked the more direct U.S. intervention. And will the Lon Nol regime be able to withstand the developing civil war within Cambodia without continued massive military occupation by U.S. forces?

A May 6 AP dispatch from Snoul, Cambodia, indicated the real significance of the events in that country. It stated: "The French manager of a rubber plantation caught in the fighting here said today that the North Vietnamese had armed most of his 1,600 workers and had taken them along as they fled from U.S. tank and air attacks."

The plantation manager told the reporter: "They gave guns to the people and now they are fighting along with the Vietcong . . .We cannot stay. The Americans have been here, and now nobody would ever trust us again."

The Cambodian army is collapsing; the "invaders" (NLF and North Vietnamese are used interchangeably in U.S. wireservice reports) arm the people. It's the same old story of Vietnam — a civil war, between the people and a military clique installed and propped up by the U.S.

This time, however, there are differences.

Most important is the tremendous, largely spontaneous mass movement of opposition to the escalation in Southeast Asia which has shaken every campus in the U.S. and contributed to the serious apprehension in ruling circles about Nixon's adventurous course.

Gone is the "low profile" Nixon with the "measured withdrawal" image. In his place is a president who frankly acknowledges that he may be only a "one-term" president. The "silent majority" is dead. Instead, we have an American public aroused by the Kent killings, which were the inevitable result of official incitements of intolerance to dissent.

In a statement issued May 5, the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, "calls upon all those opposed to the imperialist aggression to concentrate their immediate efforts on three objectives: building mass actions against the war, especially in the United States itself; attempting to involve parts of the international working class in industrial action against the war such as refusing to transport war materials or assist the U.S. war machine in any way, following the example of the Australian dockworkers; maximum military help to the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian revolutions.

"For this latter objective to be met," the statement continues, "it is necessary that there be a united front for that purpose of all the workers states, above all of the Soviet Union and China, and that the Soviet government publicly proclaim its solidarity with the Peoples Republic of China, in case of any attack against it by imperialism."

labor Challenge #8 May 18 1970

8,000 in Toronto protest; VMC builds for May 30

TORONTO, May 10 — Close to 8,000 people, many of them students shocked by the tragic death of the four Kent University students, demonstrated their opposition to U.S. aggression in Indochina before the U.S. consulate here May 9.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee had called the action for 5 o'clock, but so spontaneous was the reaction that several hundreds were demonstrating before that time.

"This is the chief significance of what happened at and around the U.S. consulate on Saturday — the deep, profound and mounting indignation of citizens of Toronto against the war in Southeast Asia. The 91 arrests carried out by the police, and a few explosions of violence should not in any way hide this significant fact," the VMC stated in a press release today.

"The VMC organized its march to terminate at the Court House across the street from the U.S. consulate. After a series of speeches, the VMC organized a mass picket line on the east side of University Avenue, which ended after an hour with another rally. George Addison, executive secretary of the VMC told the assembly to carry the antiwar struggle forward by organizing in the schools and in the community, and not to be provoked by police or any provocateurs in the ranks.

"It was obvious well before 5 o'clock, when the great bulk of the protestors arrived, that there were possibilities of a confrontation. However, the police, instead of taking action to permit a peaceful protest, took actions which tended to lead to the few explosive incidents. The police refused permission for the VMC to have a public address system for the rally, leaving the organizers no opportunity to speak to the whole crowd, and draw it together for effective action. Furthermore, the police harassed and provoked demonstrators, finally using horses to clear the area at about 6:30 p.m. If the police had allowed a sound system, and had closed University Avenue to traffic, the violence, arrests and minor damage, about which so much is being made, could have been averted.

"The VMC spokesmen repeatedly warned demonstrators not to be provoked by the police. They also called on people to build and broaden the antiwar movement by carrying actions into Toronto schools, into the factories, challenging City Council to declare a day of mourning for the Kent students, and building for a mass demonstration of antiwar feeling May 30."

High schoolers spearhead actions

Antiwar protests are spreading through Toronto-area high schools. These actions take on particular importance in the student milieu because the universities are now closed for the summer.

Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) sponsored a successful campaign on May 8 in 25 high schools asking students to take action against the war and the Kent State murders by wearing black armbands, staging noon-hour rallies, asking for a minute of silence in commemoration of the four dead students in Ohio, and using the public address system for discussions. In some schools, students are petitioning for the right to hold Vietnam assemblies.

A proposal by SAWV to the board of education in York Borough on May 11 resulted in the board voting to urge all principals to hold Vietnam Assemblies. The North York board of education is now considering a similar request from SAWV, which made a presentation at a recent meeting after its representatives had been ejected at a previous meeting.

Students are protesting "a situation where students can be tear gassed, wounded and even killed merely for expressing their opposition to government policies. And they will be protesting a situation where the Canadian government by its continued support of U.S. aggression in effect condones this kind of massacre," states Martin Shulman, 17, president of SAWV.

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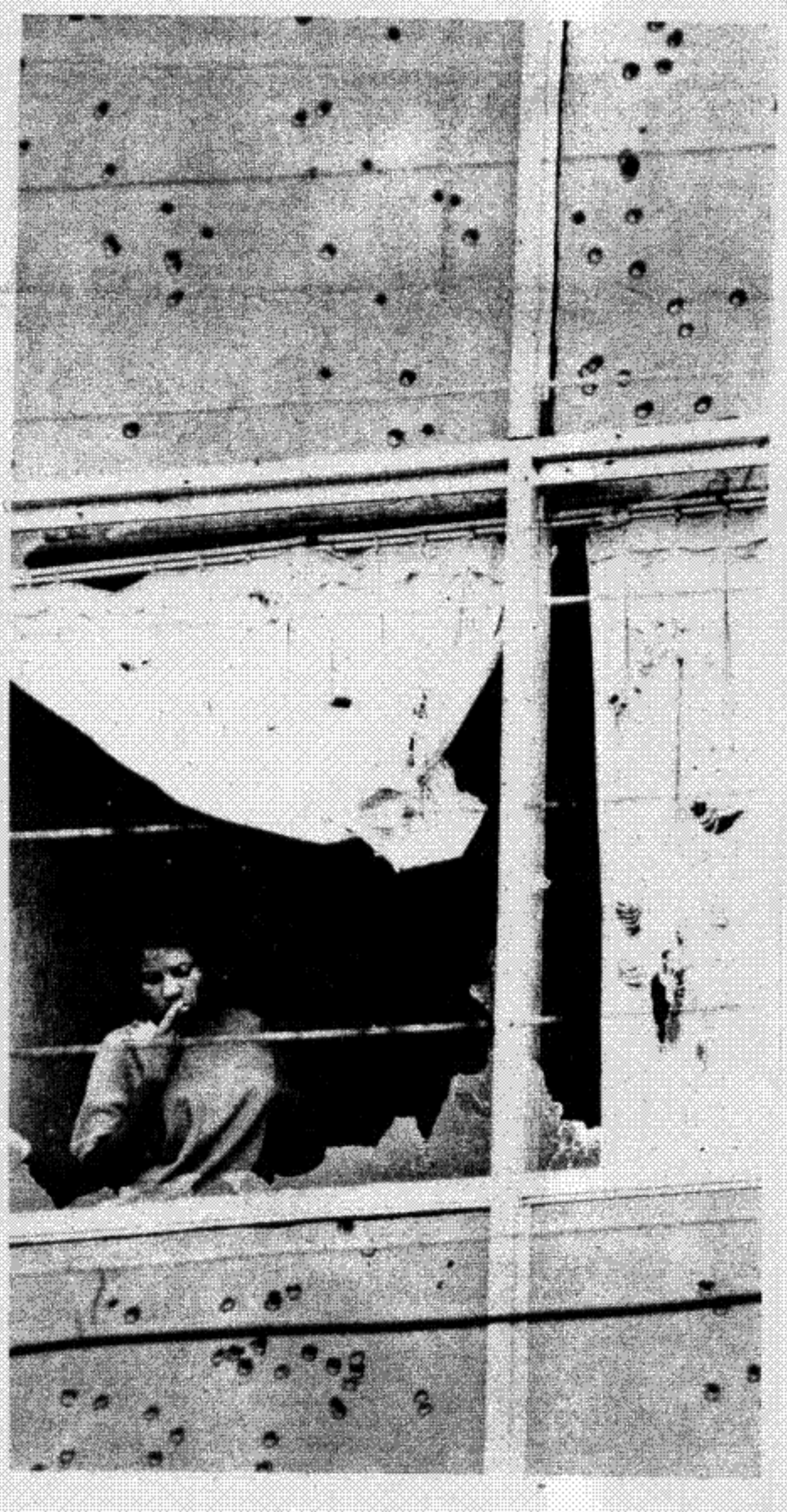
Eyewitness reports pages 8-9

U.S. students widen power cops murder Black youths



Jackson, U.S.A.

Antiwar protests continue

MAY 25 — A massive, unprecedented wave of antiwar protests has swept U.S. campuses and spread through broad sectors of the American population as a whole in recent weeks.

After three weeks the first general student strike in American history is still continuing on hundreds of campuses, with students settling down to consolidate the gains they have made thus far. The wave of spontaneous outrage over the escalation of the war, the Kent State Massacre, and now the killings in Augusta, Georgia, and Jackson, Miss., is centering on attempts to win permanent concessions from university authorities and to spread the movement to other sectors of the population, particularly to Black and white workers.

At its peak in the first week, the strike closed nearly 600 campuses. Many large universities remain completely shut down and students have taken over school facilities for antiwar and other protest campaigns.

At many of the schools that have "reopened," the course of instruction bears little resemblance to that before the strike: antiwar committees and left organizations lead seminars and discussions. In some instances these are extracurricular; in others they have replaced regular classes.

The May 25 issue of Intercontinental Press reports:

"Student strike committees are now attempting to win permanent recognition for the organizational gains they have made in the strike: the right next semester to have antiwar broadcasts on the college radio station; to have a page or more in the student newspaper; to have offices, printing equipment, telephone service, meeting halls, and other facilities regularly at the disposal of the antiwar movement on campus.

"Tens of thousands of newly radicalized students, who have gone through the experience of the current strike, are joining or forming antiwar committees and organizations, and constitute a new base on the campus to struggle for and hold these concessions. This layer of activists ranges from as many as 5,000 in Boston to perhaps 500 in a city like Seattle. Still only a vanguard, it is nevertheless numerically much larger than previously, and it commands the respect of the vast majority of the student population as a whole."

(See page 3)

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Cuban students proclaim "Honor to the four Kent martyrs" in massive march through Havana.

Mass U.S. protest

(continued from page 1)

Of the 17,543,000 high school students in the U.S. the May 18 issue Intercontinental Press said "it is not unreasonable to put the number on strike at 5,000,000 students and it could well be twice that."

The militant May 9 demonstration at Washington, organized in less than a week, drew over 100,000, while 50,000 demonstrated in Philadelphia, 60,000 in Boston, 40,000 in Chicago, 20,000 in Denver, and 12,000 in San Francisco.

Indicative of the sharpening polarization in American society is the increase in police violence. The killing of four students by national guardsmen at Kent State University May 4 has been followed in rapid succession by the police murder of six Black men in Augusta, Georgia, May 11, and the killing of two students in Jackson, Miss. May 15. In Boston police went berserk in a student residential area, breaking into private homes, beating people indiscriminately, and throwing rocks from rooftops.

The refusal of New York police to protect youthful antiwar demonstrators when they were assaulted by a gang of right-wing construction workers May 8 constitutes part of the emerging pattern of police reprisals against all varieties of political dissenters.

The big May 20 right wing demonstration in New York with its sizeable contingents from the building trades, long dominated by racist job trusts, was seized on by some sections of the press to suggest that antiwar sentiment has little response in the working class. But Nixon made a similar miscalculation about the mood of the American public. A Harris poll taken on the eve of Nixon's speech announcing the invasion, and released May 4 showed that only 7 percent of those interviewed favored sending U.S. troops into Cambodia, with 59 percent opposed, 11 percent with no opinion, and the rest favoring some measure short of the use of U.S. troops. Many of that 59 percent were clearly workers.

Although AFL-CIO leader Meany and other top union bureaucrats have praised Nixon's war policy, some local unions have come out against the war. Over 20,000 marched in New York May 21 in an action called by a Labor-Student Coalition for Peace which included a considerable cross-section of locals. Student strike committees have made considerable efforts to involve unions in antiwar actions. Union spokesmen have addressed a number of antiwar rallies. Two days before his death in a plane crash May 9, Walter Reuther, president of the 1,800,000 -member United Auto Workers union issued a strongly worded condemnation of the invasion of Cambodia.

Where is the protest heading politically? The campus radicalization is winning many youth from the two capitalist parties. But in this election year, a major effort will no doubt be made by the liberal press to detour the students into supporting Republican or Democratic "doves." Intercontinental Press comments:

"It does not appear at this point, however, that they will do this in opposition to mass antiwar mobilizations and strikes. The most conscious will see the contradiction in supporting capitalist politicians while opposing the war, but the others are not likely to abandon the antiwar movement . . .

"In relation to their numbers, the revolutionary-socialists, the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have found a wider acceptance of their ideas and proposals than any other tendency. Because of the size and breadth of the student upsurge, no single tendency has anything like hegemony, and in most places independent radicals, liberals, or spontaneous coalitions are in the leadership.

"One significant fact, however, is the degree to which the campus explosition has bypassed virtually all the ultraleft groupings . . ."

The next focus of the strikers is the May 30 Memorial Day demonstrations called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. One of the leading coalition groups supporting the May 30 action, the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, has initiated a call for an "Emergency National Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War" to be held in that city June 19-20. This conference promises to play a key role in hammering out a program of action to continue and deepen the mass movement against the war.

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Mass protests around world against Southeast Asia war

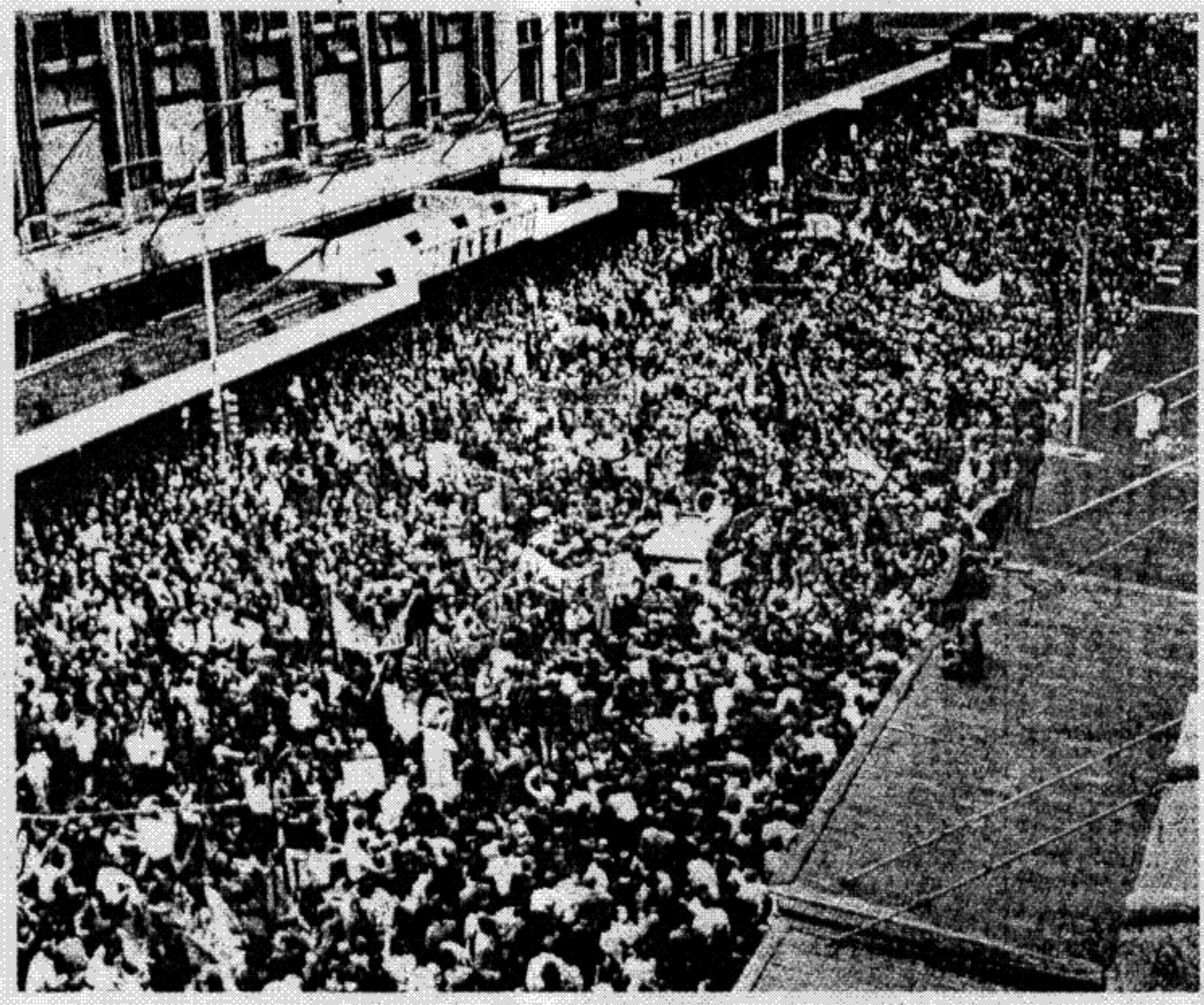
MAY 25 — The massive protests in the United States against the invasion of Cambodia were matched by impressive demonstrations in other countries.

Fifteen thousand marched May 9 in West Germany in solidarity with the Washington rally, together with about 5,000 in Copenhagen, 10,000 in London, and 100,000 in Paris on May 10.

Australia's most massive demonstration against the war took place in Melbourne May 8 when more than 75,000 people, as estmiated by the daily press, sat down in the middle of the city to demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and the immediate repeal of the draft.

This was the first time that a major antiwar action has been held during normal working hours, and the first time that some form of mass civil disobedience has been staged. The demonstration was **ten times larger** than any previous Melbourne protest, with the huge crowd taking over the city in effect for three hours.

Other Australian antiwar protests during the May 8-10 Moratorium mobilized 20-25,000 in Sydney, 10,000 in Adelaide, and 5,000 in Brisbane, as well as demonstrations in other cities.



75,000 marched in Melbourne, Australia.

labor Challenge

#9 June 1 1970

To protect Canadian profits?

Trudeau backs U.S. in S-E Asia

by Dick Fidler

Trudeau's showcase tour of the South Pacific and Southeast Asia has been an immense success — for the Nixon administration. Seldom if ever before has a Canadian prime minister gone so far in explicitly endorsing the aggressive aims of U.S. imperialism. Trudeau's recent statements justifying Washington's policies in Vietnam and Cambodia mark a new low in the government's craven complicity in the war, and raise ominous questions about Canadian intentions in the Far East.

It all began in Wellington, New Zealand, when Trudeau was confronted by students protesting Canada's complicity in U.S. "war crimes." Challenged by Keith Locke, a leading member of the Socialist Action League to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from Cambodia and Vietnam, the prime minister replied: "No. We wouldn't demand it — and if we did it wouldn't matter a whit."

Trudeau justified this peculiar reasoning on the grounds that "other people" had demanded withdrawal of the U.S. and "the North Vietnamese". . ."and they haven't done it."

"As a member of the International Control Commission, we have repeatedly condemned the United States for bombing the North, and we have condemned them very recently for bombing Cambodia. We have repeatedly said they should cease," Trudeau claimed. He went on to charge that the North Vietnamese — "and the Viet Cong" (!) — are "infiltrating" South Vietnam.

That the Liberal government has "repeatedly condemned" U.S. bombing in Vietnam and Cambodia, is news to antiwar activists. Mr. Trudeau is lying, of course. Far from condemning the bombings, he and his predecessors have gone out of their way to justify U.S. aggression all down the line. External Affairs Minister Sharp has even endorsed Washington's invasion of Cambodia and expressed "reassurance" in Nixon's "limited" objectives. Trudeau echoed him in Singapore May 23 when he said of the Cambodian invasion, "By no means do we think it was unprovoked."

His Singapore news conference was in fact the occasion for the most far-reaching defense of the U.S. that Trudeau has ever made. "It's fine to tell the Americans to go . . .to leave Vietnam" Trudeau declaimed. "But who will fill the space?

"Do you want it to be Japan, Communist China or some combination of both . . .or aren't you better with the American presence which is more distant, less visible and a less frightening kind of imperialism?"

Astonishing statement! Here we have the entire bloody rationale behind Liberal-Tory government complicity in the war. Gone completely is the old attempt to suggest that we have "principled" differences with the U.S. which are best presented in private diplomatic notes. Gone, too, is the claim to "special influence" with Washington — "Neither side has listened to us," Trudeau told the New Zealand students. To protest "wouldn't matter a whit."

Most revealing is the prime minister's implicit renunciation of Lester Pearson's oft-repeated claim that the U.S. is "not imperialistic." Trudeau now acknowledges it — and brazenly defends it: "Who will fill the vacuum if the United States leaves?" What he lacks in intellectual honesty and moral courage, he makes up in sheer, unadulterated gall.

Possibly it does not occur to this longstanding opponent of French Canadian rights that the people of the exploited nations of Southeast Asia might wish to control their own political and economic destiny, free of outside intervention. To Trudeau and his kind — that's a "vacuum."

Brandishing the bogey of China — which has no investments or troops outside its borders — Trudeau tells the people of Indochina, who have suffered through close to 20 years of one of the most vicious, genocidal colonial wars in history, that they should welcome their oppressor, U.S. imperialism. With more than 500,000 troops in Vietnam alone, it is, he calmly assures them, "more distant, less visible and . . .less frightening."

Behind Pierre Trudeau's cynicism is the self-acclaimed "pragmatism" of a bourgeois politician who can boast without blushing, as he did to the Wellington students, that "we are an independent nation; *we try to exercise what sovereignty we have left.*" This is the ultimate expression of political bankruptcy.

This abject political support for U.S. imperialism has its payoff, of course — for the businessmen whose interests Trudeau so faithfully represents. This, the oth aspect of his Asian tour, was referred only briefly, but no less explicitly, by t prime minister when he said in Singap that he "hoped an arrangement would concluded whereby the Canadian Exp Development Corp. would ensu Canadian investment in this area."

It figures. When Trudeau in Southea Asia links the prospects for Canadi investment and super-profits in that ar with knee-jerk readiness to go all the wa with Nixon, his message has relevance antiwar activists here in Canada. He telling us once again that anyone w opposes the war must ultimately prepared to fight *Canadian* imperialism too, by joining the struggle again Trudeau and his class — the struggle f socialism.

"We are an independent nation; we try to exercise what sovereignty we have left." — Prime Minister Trudeau, Wellington, New Zealand, May 14.

KIWIS UNIMPRESSED. New Zealand students show Trudeau they know facts about his government's complicity in the war. Pointing to pamph published by Toronto's Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Keith Locke, a form activist in the movement in Edmonton and Toronto, notes evidence of ar sales, ICC spying, and diplomatic apologies for U.S. aggression. Trudeau said would not call for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam — or Cambodia.

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photo by Cuthand

A native Indian contingent marched in the antiwar demonstration in Edmonton, April 18, to link the struggle of the Vietnamese with their own struggle for self-determination in Canada. On June 4, the Trudeau cabinet was confronted with the same demand, when the National Indian Brotherhood, speaking for all Canada's Indians and Eskimos, presented their "Red Paper." Ceremonially returning as "unacceptable" the government's "white paper" which aimed to eliminate what privileges Indians have preserved from the treaties, they demanded "more than equality" — special rights to compensate for their long oppression, including the handing over of federal powers on the reserves such as education and welfare to the Indians themselves. Trudeau admitted that the Indians had suffered centuries of oppression and did not defend the government's "white paper" — but also denied the Indians' right to enjoy special recognition as an oppressed people.

labor Challenge #10 June 15, 1970

Photo by Howard Petrick

BREAKTHROUGH. 25,000 trade unionists marched in New York against the war in Southeast Asia May 21, in the first major antiwar demonstration organized by a sector of the U.S. labor leadership.

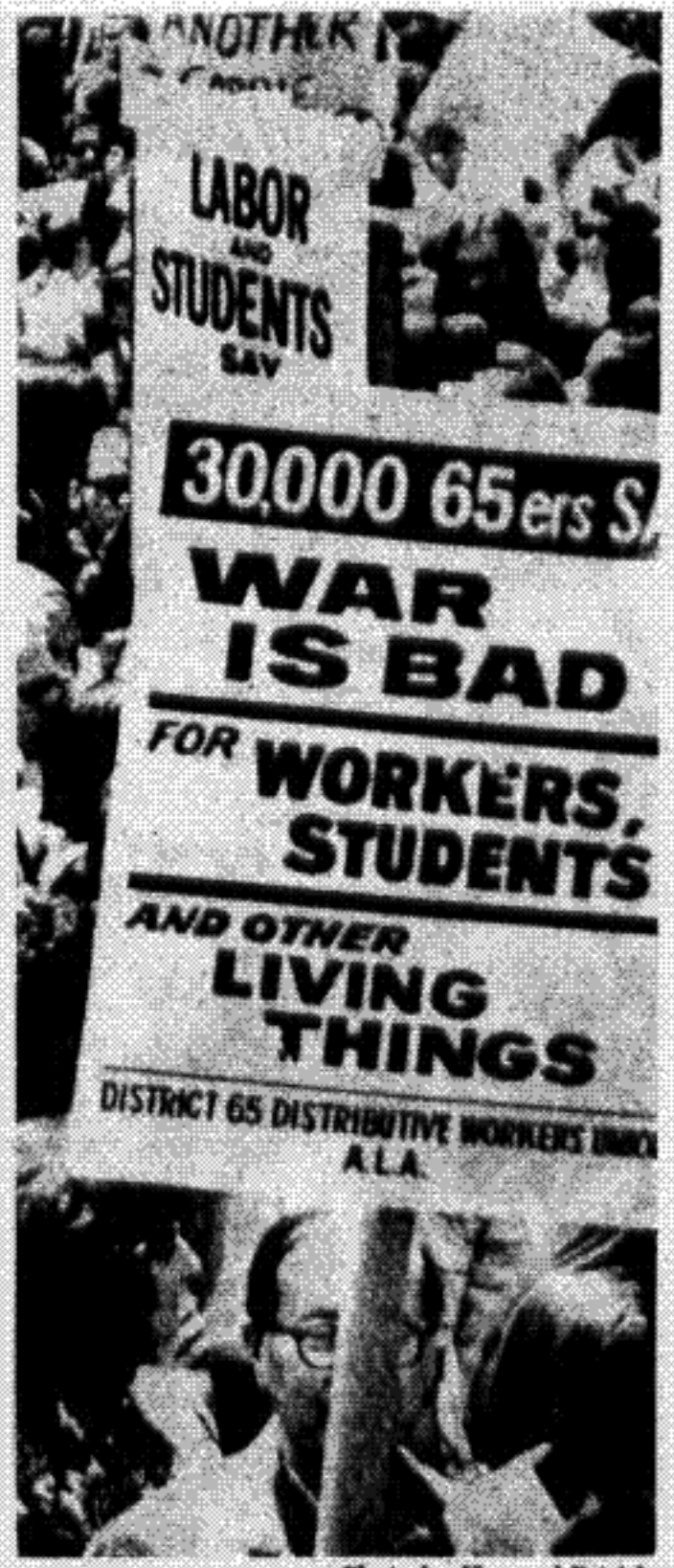


Photo by Howard Petrick

New York, May 21

photo by wotson

AT TORONTO ANTIWAR PROTEST. George Addison, secretary of Vietnam Mobilization Committee, speaks to 3,000 at city hall.

Large antiwar marches assert right to protest

by Carl Fleming

Thousands of Canadians took to the streets in cities across the country on May 30-31, in solidarity with Memorial Day demonstrations in the United States. These actions, against the escalation of the war, the murder of protesting students in the U.S., and Canada's complicity in the war, drew 3,000 people in Toronto, 700 in Vancouver, 250 in London, 200 in Kitchener, and 100 each in Winnipeg, Hamilton and Ottawa. They represent an important step forward for the Canadian antiwar movement, which organized the demonstrations on short notice after the universities had closed for the summer. In London and Kitchener, these were the largest antiwar demonstrations to date.

In a related action, more than 800 people from across the Prairies gathered at the government's Chemical and Biological Research Center at Suffield, Alberta over the weekend of May 29-31. The demonstrators were demanding that this germ war and nerve gas research establishment be transformed into a pollution control center.

A spirited and militant demonstration marched through the streets of downtown Vancouver on May 30.

A well-organized corps of marshalls helped prevent disruptions from having any effect on the demonstration as it marched from city hall to the court house. Previously Vancouver city council had banned the use of Victory Square for the assembly point. The Communist party had mobilized the Vancouver and District Labor Council against endorsing the action. Right-wingers mobilized at the U.S. consulate to provoke a fight with the demonstrators. Various ultraleft elements tried to disrupt the action.

Despite all these problems, the May 30 action came off smoothly and effectively in Vancouver, marking a significant turning point in the movement, which is now in a good position to move out to win mass support for future demonstrations.

The May 31 demonstration in Toronto won an important victory over forces attempting to block or disrupt the right of peaceful assembly in Civic Square. The city council unanimously reestablished the VMC's right to use sound equipment in the square, after an effective campaign by the VMC for its rights, and an intervention by NDP alderman Karl Jaffary, who pointed but how such an infringement of civil liberties was the real cause of violence on May 9.

Rumors of violence and a large mobilization of right-wing elements did not deter about 3,000 people from participating in the march and rally. So effective was the organization of marshalls by the VMC that after the committee had publicized its preparations, the Metro police felt obliged to call their own press conference to assert **their** intention of patrolling the march.

Ultraleft groups such as the Canadian Party of Labor and the May 4 Movement found practically no support among the demonstrators, largely high school students. The CPL-organized march to the Post Office after the rally drew no one but their own forces. The May 4 Movement, which tried to lead demonstrators away from the mass march to a non-political "Escalate People's Parks" action, was so unsuccessful that it had to scrap its plans and join with the march through downtown Toronto.

In contrast to the May 9 action, where a police attack resulted in 91 arrests, the thorough preparations and marshalling on May 31 prevented disruption, although many of the ingredients for a confrontation were there. What was apparent on May 31 was the feeling on the part of the overwhelming majority of the assembly that what was necessary was to organize to protect their rights and place the responsibility for any violence clearly on police or right-wing disruptors. A leaflet distributed by the VMC marshalls read in part:

"The VMC does not seek to organize acts of personal witness. It does not seek violence or confrontations with the police. It seeks to build a mass movement of Canadians against the war. . .

"We want the demonstration to be a **mass peaceful protest.** Any acts of violence will only play into the hands of those in power who wish to discredit and suppress demonstrations and divert attention away from the issue of the war."

labor Challenge #11 June 29, 1970

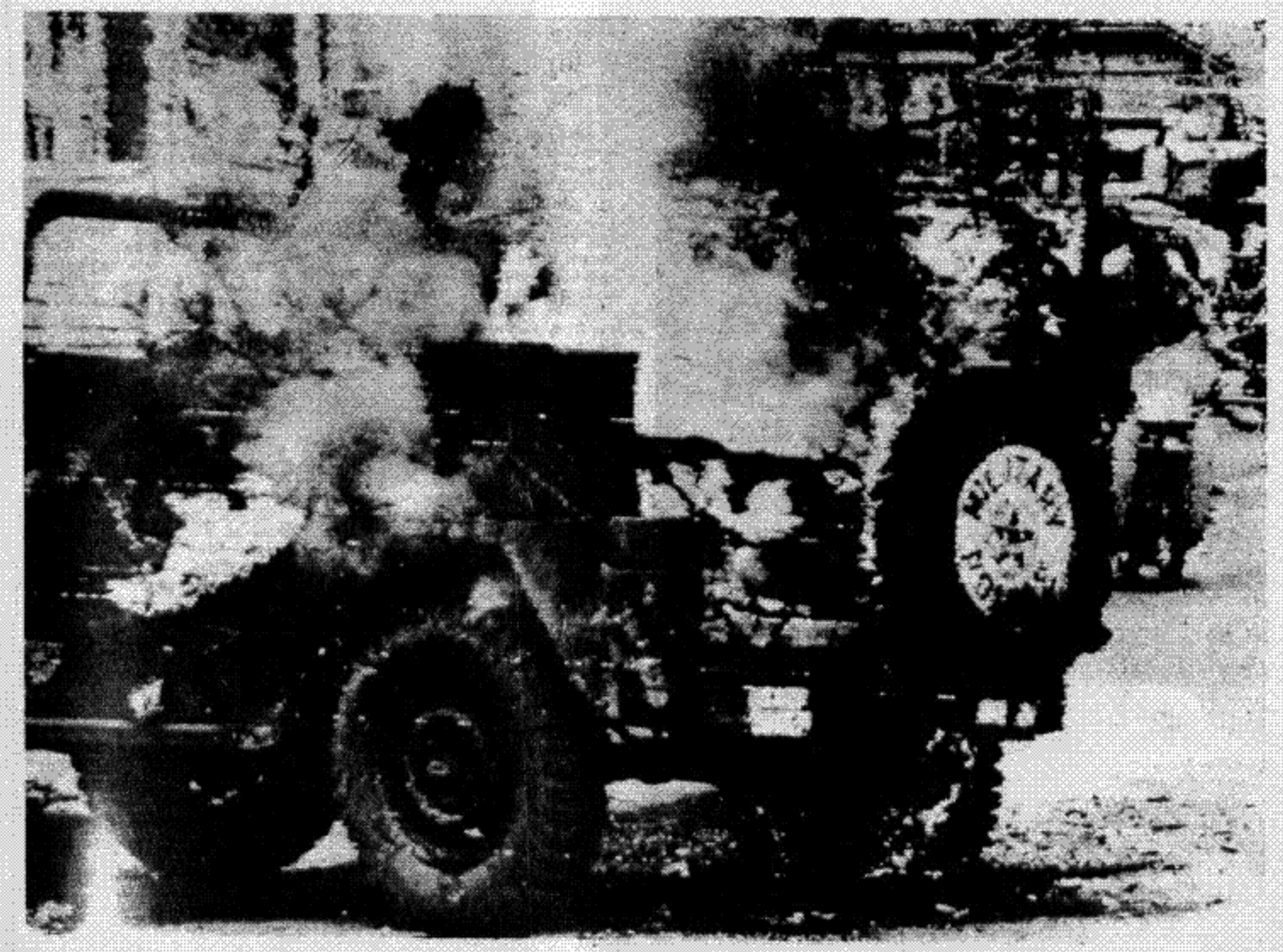
Cambodian resistance rises

by Phil Courneyeur

Revolutionary forces opposed to the rump military regime of Lon Nol in Cambodia are scoring impressive victories in the civil war now raging in that country. As of June 22 over half the country had been liberated from the U.S., South Vietnamese and Cambodian forces backing the U.S.-sponsored regime. Lon Nol's forces have been withdrawn from half the country, and his regime is virtually isolated in the capital Phnom Penh.

Nixon's Cambodian adventure has clearly become a monumental fiasco. The U.S. invasion of the country was advertised as an effort to chase out North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front troops from "border enclaves." But the real aim was to prop up the Lon Nol puppet government against the revolutionary forces of the Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer — the Khmer are the majority nationality within Cambodia). Not only did the invasion arouse an unprecedented wave of mass opposition in the U.S.; it also failed totally in its military goals.

The Khmer Rouge insurgents, whose strength has grown rapidly since the ouster of Sihanouk, have continued to grow in numbers and military strength.



U.S. ilitary Police jeep burns in Saigon June 15 after it was set afire by South Viet mese youths in the third day of anti-U.S. demonstrations. That same day, mo han 60 of Saigon's 124 unions held a 24-hour strike in sympathy with gov ment workers who have been fired.

The liberation war in Indochina has now brought together the insurgent forces of three countries, several nationalities and diverse geographical regions. The arming of the Indochinese peasantry can only deepen the social character of that struggle limiting ever more the possibility of some kind of partition of the region such as that imposed on Korea in 1953 or on Vietnam by the Geneva accords of 1954. At the same time the revolutionary character of the mounting Cambodian resistance limits the possibility of the restoration of Prince Sihanouk's "neutralist," pro-capitalist regime and drives the struggle in the socialist direction already taken in North Vietnam.

Washington's invasion of Cambodia has plunged the U.S. into the gravest political crisis in decades. Not only is the Indochinese revolution poised for a significant victory, but the U.S. ruling class is confronted by a massive upsurge of opposition to the war at home, demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops not just from Cambodia but from all Southeast Asia. The U.S. ruling class is split, with significant forces opoosed to the war because of the peril which its continuation poses not only to the international power of U.S. capital but to the stability of their rule at home.

Will Nixon withdraw U.S. troops from Cambodia on June 30 as he has promised? The Pentagon has announced that contrary to previous statements, the Saigon puppet army and the U.S. air force will continue their operations in Cambodia. Even if U.S. troops withdraw, the increasing peril of the overthrow of Washington's puppet regime in Phnom Penh makes a renewed attempt at invasion likely.

The antiwar movement in the United States and around the world will play a decisive role in halting U.S. imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, and aiding the victory of the insurgent peoples of Indochina in their struggle for self-determination.

labor Challenge #11 June 29 1970

CUBAN SOLIDARITY. Workers in Havana parade homemade effigy of Nixon in mass demonstration of solidarity with U.S. antiwar demonstrations in May. Sign reads "Nixon, murderer of children, son-of-a-bitch."

photos by Levis and Lejderman

CHE'S APPEAL. Desire to escalate struggle for socialism as reply to Nixon's imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia is expressed by handlettered sign at mass demonstration near Swiss embassy in Havana — "Create One, Two, Three Vietnams, Down With Imperialism."

labor Challenge

#12 July 13, 1970

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Cambodia: war is far from over

"We have met our obligations," said Nixon, explaining the U.S. troop "withdrawal" from Cambodia.

A military dictatorship installed, tens of thousands of Cambodians murdered by U.S. attack, a permanent U.S. war launched against the Cambodian people — those are the achievements of Nixon's May invasion of Cambodia.

True, Nixon apparently kept his promise to pull out all U.S. ground forces by June 30. If he hadn't, antiwar dissent in the U.S. itself would almost certainly have escalated to even higher levels. But the war, far from over, has only begun.

An estimated 34,000 South Vietnamese puppet troops remain, many of them to train Lon Nol's army which has increased five-fold in the three months since he came to power in a CIA-engineered coup. U.S. planes fly tactical air support for the Phnom Penh regime under the guise of raids against enemy supply lines. U.S. ships blockade Cambodia's coastline. New military and economic "aid" is being prepared to buttress the sagging dictatorship, which has reportedly lost two-thirds of the country to the guerrillas since April.

A new invasion of Cambodia remains a real possibility because the reasons that motivated the May-June invasion remain, now with redoubled force.

The reason Nixon originally gave was a fraud. North Vietnamese and NLF troops, he said, were massing in Cambodian sanctuaries preparing to attack South Vietnam. But few guerrillas were found when the Americans invaded.

Nixon boasted that the invasion would knock out "the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam." No such headquarters was discovered.

Nixon claimed the operation was intended to save Cambodia from a takeover by North Vietnamese troops and South Vietnamese NLF guerrillas. But it turned out that the invading Americans and their South Vietnamese puppet "allies" were in fact taking on the mass of the Cambodian population — with the same methods they have practiced so thoroughly in Vietnam. And, it might be added, with the same results.

The invasion, intended at first as a quick attempt to nip the rising Cambodian revolutionary movement in the bud, has been an unmitigated fiasco for Washington. The Lon Nol regime, virtually confined to the capital, is weaker than before; even its short-term survival is entirely dependent on outside military support. The revolutionary movement in Cambodia is enormously strengthened. The U.S. escalation has brought the various revolutionary forces in Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam closer together. Far from "shortening the war," Nixon's military adventure has widened it.

Nixon withdrew the ground troops from Cambodia not because they had accomplished the real purpose of the invasion, but rather because the resistance to the invasion by the Cambodian people was combined with the most powerful wave of antiwar protest yet to develop inside the U.S. Literally millions of Americans poured into the streets to express their disgust with the escalation of the war. In addition, journalists reported a near-unanimous hostility to the invasion on the part of GIs.

That the invasion occurred despite all Nixon's "assurances" about "phased withdrawals" reaffirms that there is no middle ground between complete withdrawal of U.S. forces and continued escalation of the war.

For the antiwar movement, the lesson is clear. Mass action helped force Nixon to limit his moves. But the motive forces behind the invasion remain. The danger of further escalation requires that the antiwar movement redouble its efforts in the period ahead, mobilizing new layers of the population in mass actions for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and allied forces from all of Southeast Asia.

labor Challenge
#12 July 13 1970

New antiwar coalition seeks labor support

CLEVELAND — A vitally important antiwar conference held here June 19-21, involving nearly 1,500 participants, laid the basis for a viable new antiwar coalition capable of relating to those sectors of the trade unions and Third World communities now moving into active oppositon to the war in Southeast Asia.

Apart from previous gatherings of the Student Mobilization Committee, a key participating organization in this meeting, the conference was the first to be convened on the basis of a clear political perspective of mass action against the war — a perspective winning overwhelming support as against the ultraleftist confusionism and slander produced by an isolated claque of PL-SDS supporters. Labor participants, including union leaders, declared that mass actions were the only basis on which they could realistically project drawing fellow unionists into antiwar activity

Participants in the Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War came from 240 colleges, 73 high schools and 30 states; over 50 organizations were represented, including student strike committees, trade unions and local antiwar coalitions.

The Peace Action Coalition resulting from the Conference adopted the following four-phase action program: 1.) A summer of intensive organizing and educational work; 2.) Local anti-war demonstrations on August 6-9, the period from Hiroshima Day to Nagasaki Day; 3.) Support for the August 29 Chicano Moratorium, and 4.) a day of nationally coordinated massive antiwar demonstrations on Saturday, October 31.

Photo by Howard Petrick

labor Challenge #16 Sept. 21 1970

U.S. war spreads across S.E. Asia

by Carl Fleming

The U.S. position in the Indo-Chinese war has continued to deteriorate over past months. But at the same time Washington's continued resolve has been revealed — to fight it out, to roll back the tide of revolution in Southeast Asia.

The "fall offensive" against the war now in preparation in the U.S. and around the world can strike a crucial blow towards ending the war by forcing complete U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

The Cambodian civil war has only increased in tempo since the withdrawal of U.S. ground troops on June 30. The Pnompenh government now controls little more than the capital. Despite the infusion of Saigon troops to shore it up, it has suffered continuing defeats. As one Western envoy put it, "Lon Nol looks pretty secure — as mayor of Pnompenh."

The real reasons for Nixon's invasion of Cambodia last May are now clear. It was not, as he claimed, to head off a North Vietnamese attack from Cambodian sanctuaries — U.S. intelligence reports showed the guerrillas moving in the opposite direction at the time. The purpose was to shore up the right-wing military dictatorship of Lon Nol against the rising Cambodian revolutionary forces. That need remains, more pressing than ever, and U.S. aggression against Cambodia continues.

The murderous around-the-clock U.S. air bombardment of Cambodia continues. The U.S. is picking up the bills for the operations of Saigon puppet troops in Cambodia.

Blocked by the massive anitwar upsurge at home from establishing a permanent occupation of Cambodia by U.S. troops, Nixon was forced to try to tread the narrow line between withdrawal and another escalation.

In Laos civil war is still raging, with U.S. bombing regularly backing up operations by the Saigon army and the U.S.-sponsored regime. Millions are spent by Washington to shore up the Thailand regime and maintain a sizeable army there.

And in Vietnam, there is no evidence that Saigon is able or willing to fight the war without massive participation of U.S. troops. There is no evidence that "Vietnamization" is working. Recent student demonstrations in Saigon illustrated again the lack of popular support for the Thieu-Ky regime.

Washington's every new step shows that there is no middle ground between total withdrawal of U.S. forces, which alone can guarantee self-determination for the people of Southeast Asia, and continued escalation of the war.

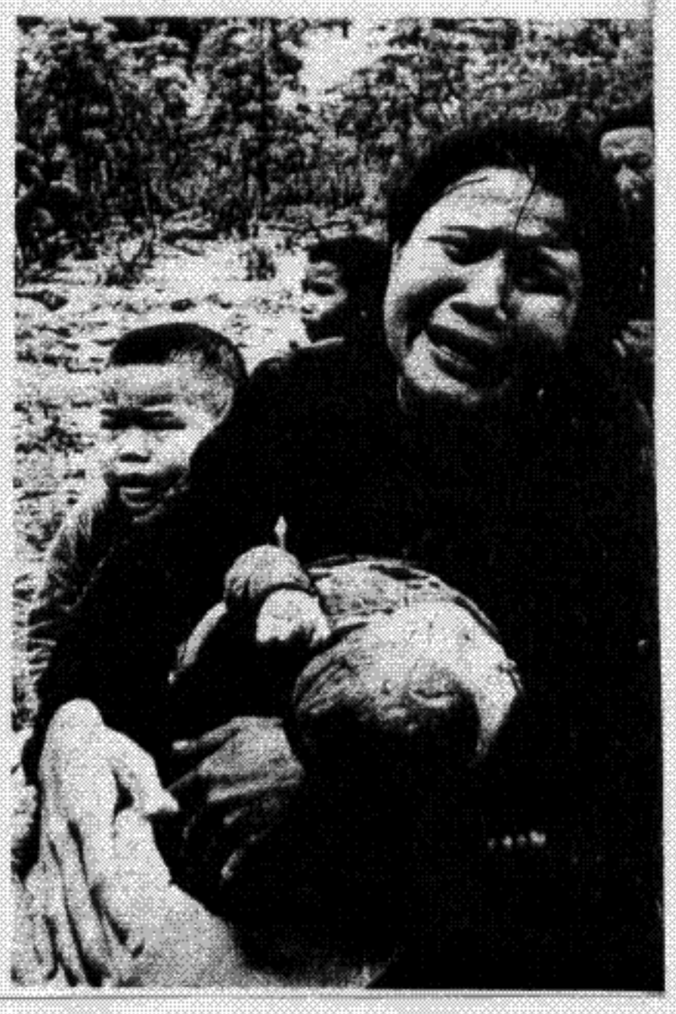
The Nixon administration is clearly committed to the fate of the military dictatorships. Certain adjustments are being made to the level, the form of that commitment. The aims of U.S. p remain unchanged: to defeat and roll b the revolution in Indo-China; to encir isolate and if possible attack China.

The continuing spread of the war creases the dangers of Canadian volvement. The U.S. war machine already extended itself into Canad many ways — military treaties, mi and other bases, war research, a production, production of strat materials. The Trudeau governm remains on record for sending Cana troops for a possible "peacekeeping" in Southeast Asia.

The war in Vietnam and through Southeast Asia remains the key frontation in world politics tod Canadians must act to express solida with the Southeast Asian peoples' stru for self-determination, to build movement for immediate U.S. withdra and against Canada's continuing c plicity in the war.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnam the Cambodians, the Loatians, plus mass actions of the antiwar moveme have stalled U.S. plans and led to a sh crisis in U.S. ruling circles.

As the next crisis develops, the action the antiwar movement can prove cru in forcing total U.S. withdrawal from a Southeast Asia.



CHICANOS ON THE MARCH.

Chicanos mobilize against Vietnam war, cop attacks

Tor. forum: Haggar hits phony truce

"The aim of the so-called Rogers Pea Plan is to obliterate the Palestine enti and dam up the torrents of Ara revolution."

From this starting point, Dr. Georg Haggar proceeded to demolish the phon Mideast ceasefire to an audience of ov 100 at the Toronto Vanguard Forum August 21. Haggar, newly-elected president of the Canadian Ara Federation, explained that it is not th pursuit of peace in the Middle East tha motivates U.S. policy.

"They seek the defeat of the Palestin revolution, the enshrining of the Ara status quo and the perpetuation of th Zionist state as a permanent beachhead f American imperialism and reaction," h explained.

Haggar concluded that "howeve unanimous the parties to the prospectiv agreements may be, and no matter wha overwhelming odds they possess or wha resolute determination they can garner t implement their proposals," al agreements that ignore the reality of th Palestinian revolution and the right of th Palestinian people to self-determinatio are destined to fail.

The discussion featured a lively debate between Arab militants and supporters o Zionism present in the audience.

labor Challenge #16 Sept. 21 1970

Young Socialists conference

Plan student action campaign

by Ian Angus

A Young Socialists educational and organizational campaign is now unfolding in universities and high schools across the country, the most ambitious yet carried by the cross-Canada student organization.

The campaign was launched by the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes Executive Council, meeting in Toronto Sept. 8. The gathering of 65 activists from across the country placed the emphasis on the projected Oct. 31 mobilization against the war in Southeast Asia, and the building of the women's liberation movement on the campuses and high schools.

Three major activities were organized for September: country-wide speaking tours by French socialist leader Alain Krivine and by Saskatoon student activist Richard Thompson, and a three-day Socialist Student Conference in Saskatoon Sept. 18-20.

Executive Secretary Jacquie Henderson, on behalf of the Central Executive Council, reported on the political tasks and perspectives of the YS/ LJS in the coming months. Characterizing this period as "one of growing student alienation from capitalist society and of great possibilities for socialism," she explained the thrust of the recently published Young Socialists' student program.

The strategic aim of the YS/ LJS campus program is more than contesting the power of big business on campus, she said. It aims to convert the campus into an organizing and resource center for the broader social struggles against capitalism as a whole. It projects that students can only resolve the crisis of the university by participating in the wider struggle for a socialist society.

In addition to actions centered on women's liberation and the Indochina war, Henderson explained, the YS/ LJS aims to intervene in promoting opposition to the Americanization of the universities and in the fight to end the destruction of our environment by capitalist polluters.

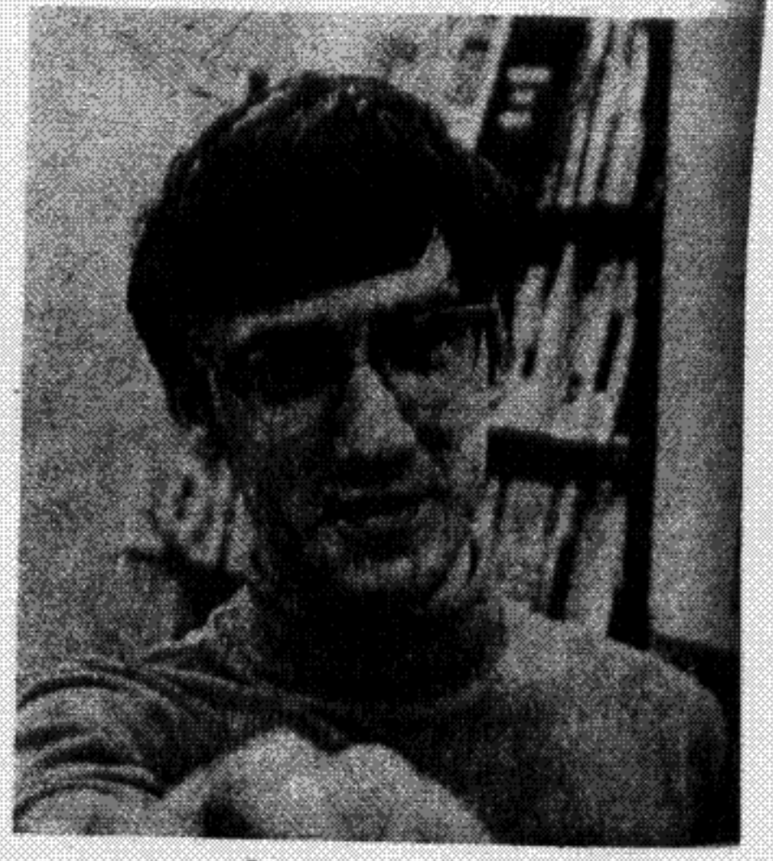
"These campaigns, together with an expanded program of socialist education, will lead up to the YS/ LJS convention, Dec. 26-28, which we can see now will be the largest gathering of its kind in Canadian history."

The report on organizational tasks was presented by Toronto YS organizer Joe Young. He stressed that the YS/ LJS was now in a unique position to build and lead the developing Canadian student radicalization. Despite the growing interest in radical politics in Canadian schools, the other radical organizations, from the New Democratic Youth to the various Maoist currents, remain in sectarian isolation.

The YS/ LJS, on the other hand, has experienced considerable growth since its founding in 1967. Its membership has nearly tripled; it has expanded from an original five cities to a network of sixteen dynamic locals across the country, with activists in twenty-eight universities and dozens of high schools. The growth in the high schools has been particularly significant: more than forty percent of new YS members in 1970 are high school students.

The Executive Council discussed the new challenges posed by the movement's expansion, which has seen a large number of leading activists move out to build locals in new areas. Educational tours are to be expanded, and Canada-wide Council meetings and conventions held more frequently. Plans were laid to appoint a full-time roving organizer.

Former Vancouver YS organizer Carole Oleniuk, who will be joining the Toronto staff to strengthen the YS/ LJS Central Office, summed up the spirit of this discussion: "The challenges we face are healthy: they're the problems of growth. There isn't an organization in the country that wouldn't give its eyeteeth to face similar opportunities."



Joe Young

Vancouver, Toronto rallies plan fall antiwar mobilizations

Canadian antiwar activists will gather in conference this month to lay plans for a fall offensive against the war in Southeast Asia.

They will consider the call from the main U.S. antiwar organization for an International Day of Protest October 31, a call already endorsed by a number of Canadian groups.

In Vancouver, the Vietnam Action Committee will meet in conference Sept. 26 to discuss plans, in particular regarding the relation of the war and war-induced inflation to the upcoming Vancouver civic elections, and a proposal for a campaign to show that Vietnam, not wages, is the real cause of inflation.

The Vancouver conference will be held at the YMCA, 955 Burrard St., commencing at 10 a.m.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has called an Eastern Canada Antiwar Conference for Sept. 26, to be held at the Sidney Smith Building, University of Toronto, commencing 9 a.m.

Featured speaker is Jerry Gordon, national co-ordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, the U.S. organization which has called the Oct. 31 action. NDP MP and federal leadership candidate Ed Broadbent will also address the conference.

Panels on women's liberation, Americanization of the Canadian economy and Canadian universities, the labor movement the economy and the war, as well as workshops on high school, Third World liberation and American exile organizing are also planned.

#17 Oct. 5 1970

labor Challenge

Demand U.S. out of S.E Asia

Plan Oct. antiwar actions

by Mark Gans

Canadian antiwar activists meeting separately in Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver last weekend have set October 31 as the date for a massive new fall offensive against the Vietnam war.

Canada-wide rallies, marches, and teach-ins will coincide with what promise to be demonstrations of unprecidented scope in the U.S. and abroad.

The call for the October 31 mobilization was issued recently by the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition, which sent one of its coordinators, Jerry Gordon, to address the Toronto meeting.

The meeting, billed as the Eastern Canada Action Conference and attended by some 100 antiwar organizers, heard MP Ed Broadbent, a candidate for the New Democratic Party federal leadership, declare that he will "shortly" urge a full-scale debate on the war in the House of Commons.

The Oshawa MP made the pledge in reply to a questioner who wanted to know why the issue had largely been shelved by the parliamentary wing of the NDP.

The conference also decided to create a regional organization comprising representatives from antiwar organizations across Eastern Canada, and to publish a new journal called the Mobilizer to further growing opposition to the war.

This growing opposition has marched hand-in-hand with deepening Canadian complicity.

Broadbent cited figures from government sources, for example, graphically demonstrating how sales of Canadian arms almost tripled between 1963-68, a period of heightened U.S. escalation in Vietnam.

From a base of $142 million worth of arms exported to the U.S. in 1963, yearly sales figures rose to 166.8, 259.5, 307.7, 317.1, and 320 million dollars in succeeding years.

The NDP wants to terminate these arms exports and begin a selective embargo on strategic materials to the United States.

It's an unhappy two-way street. Canadian arms go south; war-generated economic problems come north.

So closely integrated is Canada with U.S. imperialism that every fluctuation in the American economy is immediately registered, often with greater severity, in this country. Most economists are in agreement that our current high rate of inflation and unemployment is directly related to the high level of U.S. spending on the Vietnam war.

As for the war, it is "moving now towards a certain climax," Jerry Gordon told the conference.

Nixon's promise to withdraw troops was in a "collision course" with his pledge to maintain the Saigon government in power. When further withdrawals leave the Thieu-Ky regime vulnerable to attack, the Nixon administration will be forced into a major escalation of the war.

"And if that happens, if Nixon escalates," Gordon said, "the country will explode."

Civil rights is goal of Edmonton march

EDMONTON — Plans for the October 13 antiwar mobilization here include an important campaign for the civil rights of demonstrators.

The September 26 conference of the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam decided to campaign for the right to march on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton's main thoroughfare. City Hall is attempting to deny use of the street apparently on the grounds that the march would create "traffic problems".

The conference's workshop on the defense campaign decided to gather information on previous demonstrations on Jasper Avenue and appeal to public opinion against the discriminatory ruling.

Alberta New Democratic Party leader Grant Notley, a featured speaker at the conference, called on the antiwar movement to put more pressure on politicians to take a stand on the Vietnam war.

The small but enthusiastic conference elaborated the plans and set the gears in motion for a large and effective mobilization October 31.

Vietnam to be issue in Vancouver poll

Over 60 participants in the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee conference September 26 adopted a three-pronged proposal for fall action.

A mass non-violent march is planned for the October 31 international day of antiwar action. The march will culminate at city hall and candidates for civic office will be challenged to come to speak to the demonstration.

In addition October 30 was set as a day of student action against the war and a campaign to inject the war issue into Vancouver's December municipal election, pointing out the war's role as cause of inflation and unemployment was planned.

The conference reaffirmed by an overwhelming vote — only three opposed — the VAC's policy of non-exclusion.

The Communist party and elements in the labor movement had pressed for an exclusionist policy, pointing to the disruption of the VAC's April 18 rally by Maoist and "yippie" elements.

Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor moved the amendment at the conference to establish control of slogans and placards at demonstrations.

Russell Block, a conference speaker from the Seattle antiwar movement pointed out the key role of the policy of non-exclusion in building the U.S. movement.

Only three voted for the amendment, and Haynes himself voted for the main motion.

Sheila Turgeon was elected executive secretary, and Hilda Thomas as interim chairwoman.

labor Challenge #18 Oct. 19 1970

How your tax dollars finance war profiteers

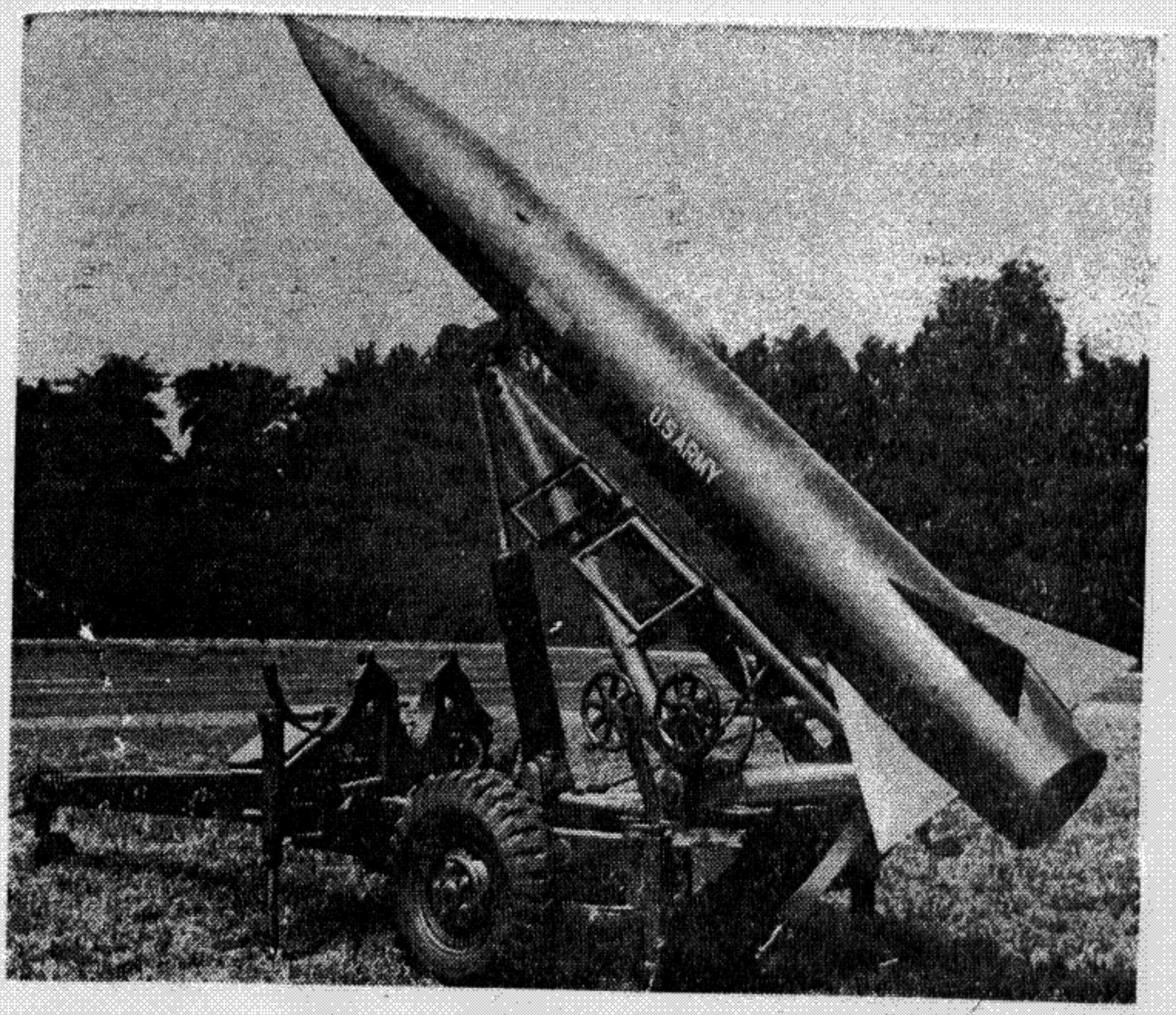
by Harry Kopyto

Few Canadians know it, but the Trudeau government is channelling millions of taxpayers' dollars into corporations profiteering from the war in Southeast Asia.

In 1968-9 alone, government agencies shelled out close to $30 million to private corporations to aid their sales of arms and defense material to the U.S. war machine. Between 1966 and 1968, largely as a result of the Vietnam war, these subsidies increased by a whopping one third. Most of the money goes to U.S. war industries with subsidiaries in Canada. Eighty-nine percent of the 1968-9 grants went to foreign-owned corporations such as Litton Systems, General Dynamics, General Electric and Hawker-Siddeley.

The shocking facts of Ottawa's complicity in war profiteering are exposed in information obtained by Ed Broadbent (NDP — Oshawa) from Trade Minister Jean-Luc Pepin earlier this year. The information Broadbent prodded out of the government — which has not been published for general circulation — indicates the important role that two government agencies in particular play in locking Canadian industry into the U.S. war effort.

The Defense Industry Productivity Program is specifically designed to encourage arms exports by subsidizing market research for war industries in Canada and rationalizing their operations. It was created in 1968 through combining the Defense Development Sharing Program and the Export Modernization Program. These programs come under the Defense Production Sharing Agreements between Canada and the United States, which were first negotiated by the Diefenbaker government in 1959, then renewed from time to time under succeeding governments.



MADE IN CANADA, PRIMED IN U.S. One result of the Canadian government's Defense Production Sharing Agreement with the U.S. is the launcher shown above loaded with a Lance missile. The launcher, the only major component of the Lance system being produced outside the U.S. is supplied by Orenda, Ltd. of Malton, Ontario, which has received over $2 million in government subsidies since 1965.

The information contained in the table on this page bears out the 1967 charge by Star Weekly writer Walter Stewart that "the government is zealously encouraging munitions sales by private firms. Teams of experts from Ottawa's Defense Production Department scour the U.S. for contracts which are either turned over directly to Canadian firms or processed through the Canadian Commercial Corporation which not only solicits work but guarantees quality to the American buyer, all at no cost to our manufacturers."

The result, according to figures released by Trade Minister Pepin on October 6, was $1.2 billion worth of armament sales to the U.S. over the last four years — $300 million a year, an increase of almost 200 percent since the mid-1960s. These sales correspond directly to the growth of the enormous U.S. war machine directed against the Vietnamese revolution.

Most of the government subsidies go to foreign (chiefly U.S.-owned) corporations, as is evident from the accompanying table.

The information shows clearly that the Trudeau government, like its predecessors, is far from indifferent to the problems of U.S. ownership in Canada. They are actively encouraging it, and in the most despicable way, by serving in effect as an arms merchant for the U.S. military.

Additional large subsidies are provided by the federal government's Advancement of Industrial Technology Program. The bulk of its grants go to war-oriented industries, many of which are included in the defense programs. The biggest recipient, the giant aircraft manufacturer Canadair, a wholly-owned subsidiary of General Dynamics of the U.S., was given no less than $24,565,100 from the three combined giveaway programs between 1966 and 1969.

The Industrial Technology Program is also used to subsidize industries supplying the U.S. war machine with strategic

resources like copper, nickel and uranium. Among its major recipients are such corporations as the Noranda, Cominco, and Eldorado mining and smelting interests, all of which also profit from traditional government policies like regional incentives payments, tax write-offs or deferments, special depreciation allowances and forgivable loans.

The strategic importance of Canada's natural resources industries is noted by Waffle leader Jim Laxer in his book, The Energy Poker Game:

"By the end of the 1960s the U.S. had come to depend on Canada not only for immense profits, but also for strategic supplies in maintaining the military power on which the Americans depended for their control of much of the globe. One corporation alone, International Nickel (INCO) supplied the U.S. with the bulk of its vital nickel as well as sending its investors, a majority of whom are American, a net profit of one hundred and forty-three and a half million dollars in 1968. Aluminum, copper, and zinc, as well as nickel and other metals, flowed from Canada to the U.S.!"

The developing campaign against the natural resources sellout to the U.S. reflects the growing anti-imperialist sentiment among Canadians, largely resulting from the war. Exposure of Ottawa's subsidization of arms and resources sales is certain to give added impetus to the demand that Canadian industries and resources be developed for peaceful purposes, to meet the needs of Canadian workers and not the U.S. and Canadian bosses.

Moreover, these revelations highlight an important dimension in the Trudeau government's role in the war — its *material* complicity. The antiwar movement has exposed Canada's political and diplomatic complicity — its repeated apologies for U.S. aggression, its diplomatic coverup on the International Control Commission, its "peacekeeping" offers (the latest one only this month from Mitchell Sharp following Nixon's recent speech).

With the growing protest against the sellout of Canada's wealth to U.S. business, the antiwar movement can look toward reaching broad new forces in its campaign against U.S. aggression and Canada's complicity in it.

Ottawa's Subsidies to Military Corporations

Program	Ownership	Fiscal Year 1965-6	1966-7	1967-8	1968-9	Total 1965-69
Defense Industry Productivity Program	Foreign	$22,044,200	25,776,400	29,668,200	26,160,800	103,649,600
	Canadian	4,406,600	4,864,800	3,793,800	3,127,400	16,192,600
Program for the Advancement of Industrial Technology	Foreign	281,200	2,999,700	3,549,300	765,100	7,595,300
	Canadian	137,000	1,596,300	2,815,600	3,368,100	7,916,000
Totals		**$26,869,000**	**35,237,200**	**39,826,900**	**33,421,400**	**135,354,500**

This table is prepared from data tabled in the House of Commons this year by the minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, in response to inquiries by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Oshawa) on October 23, 1969. Corporations are classified as foreign-owned where more than 50 percent of voting stock is directly or indirectly owned by non-residents and there is a concentration of such ownership. Most of these companies are U.S. owned. The "Industrial Technology" program includes some companies not directly involved in war production. In its vast bulk, however, it aids defense industries, and industries supplying raw materials to the U.S. war machine.

labor Challenge #18 Oct. 19 1970

NDP, labor back Oct. 31 Viet protest

Demonstrations in a dozen Canadian cities will mark the October 31 international day of protest against the Vietnam war.

The actions will call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia and an end to Canadian complicity in the war. They are planned in conjunction with a massive nationwide mobilization in the U.S. and actions in many other countries around the world.

Manitoba's New Democratic Party premier Ed Schreyer has written to the local Vietnam Mobilization Committee to endorse the action, joining a growing list of supporters across Canada.

The British Columbia Federation of Labor, the B.C. New Democratic Party, and key locals of the Woodworkers and IBEW have come behind the action in that province.

The Student Representative Council of the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, in addition to endorsing the action, has called on the university administration to shut down the campus October 29 to permit a day of discussion and action against the war.

Vancouver demonstrators will focus on the coming municipal election with the slogan, "Take Vietnam to City Hall." They are challenging all election candidates to take a stand on the war.

Several prominent local antiwar activists are running for election on various tickets, including Vietnam Action Committee chairwoman Hilda Thomas, NDP candidate for alderman, and Gary Porter, LSA candidate for mayor.

The Toronto march will start at 2 p.m. at Queens Park. It will attack the recent natural gas sellout to the U.S. war economy and demand an embargo on export of all strategic materials to the U.S. until all U.S. troops are withdrawn.

labor Challenge #19 Nov. 9 1970

Oct. 31 Vietnam IDP

Protests affirm right of assembly

by Carl Fleming

The October 31 International Day of Protest against the war in Southeast Asia saw significant demonstrations in 10 Canadian cities.

These actions, carried in the face of an almost total news blackout, and in the intimidating atmosphere of the War Measures Act, were youthful and enthusiastic. Speakers and slogans on the demonstrations linked the Vietnam issue to the question of political repression in Quebec, and the challenge to civil liberties across Canada. Participants in the protests saw their actions as an affirmation of the right to free speech and assembly.

About 1,200 antiwar demonstrators took Vietnam to Vancouver's city hall, as part of the campaign of the Vietnam Action Committee to raise the war issue in the upcoming civic elections.

The Vancouver city council had previously attempted to deny the VAC the right to demonstrate on Oct. 31. Led by Mayor Tom Campbell, who previously suggested that the War Measures Act should be used against "hippi s and draft dodgers," the council tried to use a technicality to deny the VAC its parade permit.

A vigorous defense campaign carried by the VAC pointed out that Campbell and his supporters were using the atmosphere created by the War Measures Act to deny the antiwar movement the right to demonstrate. On Oct. 30, the day before the action, the permit was granted.

The spirited demonstration marched through downtown Vancouver to a mass rally in front of City Hall. Speakers included NDP aldermanic candidates Hilda Thomas, Lillian Whitney and Roy Lowther, and aldermanic candidate of the League for Socialist Action Mary Trew.

Despite rain, a militant march and rally of 500 in Toronto demonstrated opposition to the War Measures Act and the war in Indochina. Speakers at the city hall rally included George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Andrew Brewin, NDP member of parliament, and Mary Ellen Clark of the Toronto Women's Caucus. Brewin linked Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war with the "repressive proclamation of the War Measures Act." Addison attacked the Trudeau government for its complicity in the "massive campaign of terror and violence carried out against the people of Southeast Asia."

Chants on the Toronto demonstration included No more War Measures — No more War; Nixon out of Vietnam — Trudeau out of Quebec. Banners and signs carried by the demonstrators included Repeal War Measures Act; No Canadian Resources for U.S. War Machine; No Phony Candaian Peacekeeping Troops to Vietnam; and Withdraw Federal Troops from Quebec.

The reported turnout in other centers was: Saskatoon, 300; Edmonton, 150; Winnipeg, 100; Hamilton, 75; Ottawa, 40. Actions were also held in London, Kitchener-Waterloo and Fredericton.

photo by Mintz

Toronto participants in the International Day of Protest Against the War in Vietnam.

Sask. activists hit attempt at deportation

SASKATOON — Saskatchewan radical activists, fresh from their successful campaign to win acquittal for 12 Regina antiwar militants arrested last spring, are rallying behind Mary Hoffman, a member of the Canadian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in her bid to avoid deportation.

The attempt by Canadian authorities to deport Hoffman is based on charges of "criminal" behavior and contempt of court arising from an antiwar demonstration in Toronto last May.

Speaking to about 80 people on Saskatoon campus October 7, she showed that the attempt to deport her arises not from her "criminal" record but from her legal political activities.

The "Regina 12," charged after an antiwar demonstration at a U.S. army band concert last spring, won a complete victory in court September 23.

The defendants characterized the charges as political, established a broad defense committee and publicized the case through thousands of leaflets, and national radio appearances.

They won the support of student councils on both Saskatchewan campuses. A telegram in their defense was sent to Regina's Mayor Baker by a group of prominent Torontonians including Stephen Lewis, Mel Watkins, Pierre Berton and Dalton Camp.

It is hoped that a similar united defense can be rallied behind Mary Hoffman.

labor Challenge #20 Nov. 23 1970

International outlook

U.S. polls say: 'Out of Vietnam'

You wouldn't know it from looking at the roster of victors in the U.S. congressional elections, but American voters are more firmly than ever against the war in Southeast Asia.

Antiwar protest could not receive any direct expression in the voting for candidates of the two major capitalist parties — nor did the voting reflect in any significant way the impact of radicalization in other sectors, women's liberation, the Black and Chicano movements, etc.

But referendum votes for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam held in three key areas registered massive popular sentiment against the war. In addition, spirited antiwar demonstrations, many of them quite large with sizeable GI contingents, were held in more than 40 cities on October 31, the International Day of Protest.

In San Francisco, the antiwar movement succeeded in putting the following proposition on the ballot: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that there be an immediate ceasefire and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

The vote was 107,785 for and 102,731 against.

In Massachusetts, in a three-way referendum, 558,975 voted for a proposal to "withdraw our armed forces in accordance with a planned schedule;" 347,462 voted to "withdraw all our armed forces immediately;" and 150,984 to "win a military victory."

In Detroit, 62 percent voted for immediate withdrawal.

In San Francisco's Fillmore area, a Black community, more than 90 percent voted in favor of withdrawal.

These referendums indicate clearly that the "great silent majority" is far from favoring Nixon's redbaiting prowar postures and policies.

Trinidad militants trial

The emergency legislation that the Eric Williams government imposed to crush the revolt that swept over Trinidad last spring is now expiring.

The leadership which he jammed into prison, including the troops who joined the struggle against the degradation that the West Indies peoples suffer through imperialist, particularly Canadian imperialist, exploitation, will be coming before the courts.

Aid is desperately needed. Tapia House has set up a fund from which all victims will be able to draw. Money should be sent to Tapia House, 91 Tunapuna Road, Tunapuna, Trinidad, care of Lloyd Best.

Rocks only in Nixon's head?

Remember that stone-and-egg attack on Nixon by San José antiwar demonstrators? It now seems that it never took place.

Newspapers reporting the incident used the phrase "according to eyewitnesses." And Nixon used the story to build support for a hard line during his election campaign. But a follow-up story in the New York times could only unearth one "eyewitness" the San José chief of police!

Tom DeVries, a reporter who questioned other reporters and cameramen, could find none who had seen any objects thrown. Police and secret servicemen functioned throughout the demonstration normally, giving no indication of any problem. Examinations of the scene did not turn up any stones.

But it is a known fact that Nixon deliberately sought to goad the crowd of 5,000 demonstrators. After Nixon climbed up on his car to give his spreadeagle "V" sign (standing for victory in Vietnam) he was overheard saying "That's what they hate to see."

Trudeau has now revealed that a major reason for invoking the War Measures Act was to "polarize" the Quebecois. Could it be that Nixon, in attempting to provoke the crowd, was taking a lesson from his northern confrère?

Richard Nixon: "This is what they hate to see"

labor Challenge #21 Dec. 7 1970

U.S. raids in North escalate Viet war

by Carl Fleming

On the weekend of November 21-22 about 250 U.S. warplanes bombed targets throughout North Vietnam, in the first major renewal of the bombing since 1968. At the same time, a force of helicopters staged a raid on a supposed prisonerof-war camp at Son Tay, 23 miles from Hanoi. No prisoners were found.

To believe the White House, hundreds of planes and helicopters were sent far into North Vietnam on a "mercy mission" to rescue U.S. prisoners, while Nixon could spare only six helicopters — four of them flown all the way from the U.S. — to aid relief efforts in cyclone-ravaged East Pakistan.

The U.S. government, in explaining the raids, has already gone beyond its original justification that they were simply "retaliation" for the shooting down of U.S. reconnaissance planes. Pentagon spokesmen have referred to the stalemate in the Paris peace talks as a further reason, and Secretary of Defense Laird has indicated that similar raids and bombings may well be repeated.

As for the claim that the massive raids were designed to rescue captured airmen, the U.S. government insists that American prisoners in North Vietnam should be treated according to the conventions of war, while at the same time it regularly hands over the NLF fighters it captures to inhuman treatment in the "tiger cages" of the Saigon regime.

Since war has never been declared by the U.S., the North Vietnamese would be completely justified in treating American prisoners as common criminals. However, all independent observers report that the American prisoners are being treated fairly and well.

Now that the U.S. midterm elections are over, Nixon probably feels the need to find ways to renew the war. The recent actions appear to be an attempt to establish the atmosphere for another escalation. Air strikes over Laos and South Vietnam have recently been stepped up.

The U.S. sponsored regimes in Southest Asia have shown no significant sign of the stability necessary to carry the war without massive U.S. intervention. The Paris peace talks have been, from the American point of view, unproductive. The Vietnamese have consistently refused to back down from their demand for the total withdrawal of U.S. and allied forces. They have used the talks to present their position to world public opinion, much to the embarrassment of the U.S. State Department.

Unable to win a clear victory in Vietnam, or a compromise favorable to the U.S. position in Paris, Nixon may be trying to provoke a crisis whereby the war could be renewed or extended. The last time Nixon attempted to escalate the war, a massive out-pouring of antiwar feeling forced him to withdraw from Cambodia, while continuing the war on other fronts. Any new escalation, whatever the excuse, will undoubtedly spark a new upsurge of the antiwar movement.

Late 1970

(ADVERTISEMENT)

CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM

U.S. bombers daily bomb Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The genocide of the Vietnamese people continues. Over 50,000 GI's have died and countless others have been crippled physically and emotionally. The toll continues to rise while Nixon's false statements of de-escalation have been echoed by a blanket of silence on the part of our mass media.

THE YORK COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM believes therefore that it is particularly important at this time to acquaint citizens of this community with the facts about Canada's role in this war. The following statement is the result of collective research by members of our committee and of financial contributions from citizens of this community.

CANADA AIDS THE U.S. WAR

Canada provides diplomatic support for the war. As a member of the International Control Commission, set up in 1954 to supervise the implementation of the Geneva Accord, Canada has time after time supported U.S. aggression.

When the majority of the ICC issued a condemnation of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, Canada refused to sign the statement, and issued a minority report justifying the attacks. Canadian members of the ICC even spy for the U.S. According to Gerald Clark, Associate Editor of the Montreal Star, Canadian officers of the ICC have been "acting as informants for the U.S. Intelligence agencies." (Canada's Vietnam Policy: The Diplomacy of Escalation, by James Steele, 1969). The Canadian representatives, far from playing a "neutral" or "peacemaking" role on the ICC, "see themselves as American spokesmen on the Commission" (Tim Ralfe, Toronto Star, May 10, 1967).

The Geneva Accord of 1954 has been violated by the United States intervention in Vietnam. The International Control Commission can serve no fruitful role in the conflict. Canada must declare that the ICC as a peacekeeping force is a failure and withdraw its personnel from Indochina, and break with U.S. dominated military alliances.

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY IN INDOCHINA OUT OF NATO, NORAD, ICC

Recently the Canadian government has indicated that it may very well involve Canadian troops in the war. External Affairs Minister Sharp stated that Canada is prepared to participate in a "supervisory" or peacekeeping role in Vietnam if asked by the U.S. government (Toronto Star, Oct. 8, 1970).

Canadian soldiers are being trained in counter-insurgency and jungle warfare techniques. At Camp Petawawa, Ontario, Canadian soldiers practised maneouvers in a mock Southeast Asian village (CBC TV, July 7, 1968). Canadian troops have received similar training in Jamaica, Australia (using Australian Vietnam veterans as instructors), Puerto Rico, Libya and Alaska.

With Canada's shameful complicity in the war, our troops can play no "peacekeeping" role in Indochina. They could only be designed to further thwart the struggle of the Vietnamese to determine their own future free from foreign intervention.

NO PHONY CANADIAN PEACEKEEPING TROOPS TO INDOCHINA!

PROFITS FROM THE WAR

"In Canada, there is no business like war business" begins F.H. Knelman, writing in the October 1, 1970 Toronto Star. He goes on to say that any manufacturer can get into arms production, with research and development totally subsidized by government funds if the industrialist is sharing research and development with a U.S. firm. Our government spends over 50 percent of all its research and development funds on military research. The Canadian government will also look after the sales marketing and promotional organizing through its agency, the Canadian Commercial Corporation.

It is not surprising then, that Canadian industries sell some $500 million worth of arms a year; over 80 percent to the U.S.

"Canadian arms are killing people in most existing wars, in Vietnam and elsewhere . . . (Arms sales) is a spurious political commitment to a servile economic dependence on the U.S. . . . The U.S., in effect, controls and directs our arms production sales. They integrate this with their huge military industrial complex, extending their control over national economies and politics of other states. This also affects our resources and energy position, copper and nickel having export restrictions everywhere except to the U.S. These, like our arms commitments are fundamental in the deterioration of our national identity. (F.H. Knelman, ibid).

There is grave concern among Canadians today at the increasing U.S. control of our resources and industries. In order to assert Canadian independence, we must break with the U.S. war effort.

STOP ARMS SALES TO THE U.S.

NO CANADIAN STRATEGIC RESOURCES FOR THE U.S. WAR MACHINE

MEDICAL AID FOR WHOM?

"Come to Quang Ngai and admire the half-million dollar Canadian funded hospital for the treatment of T.B., and then look up in the sky and count the number of Canadian built planes flying overhead. Or come to the burns ward of the nearby provincial hospital and wind gauze around the scorched bodies of the children and then check sales by Canadian companies of TNT for 500-lb. incendiary bombs." So is Canadian "aid" described by Claire Culhane, a former hospital administrator in Vietnam. She tells of "missing" Canadian medical supplies which disappeared into the black market. She tells of Canadian foreign aid money going into housing projects in Saigon, with rents so high that only government officials can afford them. This is an indication of the kind of "aid" we are giving war-torn Vietnam. (Canadian Dimension, 1968).

Canadian aid only goes to the corrupt Saigon government. No aid is given to North Vietnam, or the areas controlled by the National Liberation Front, the main targets of American bombing raids.

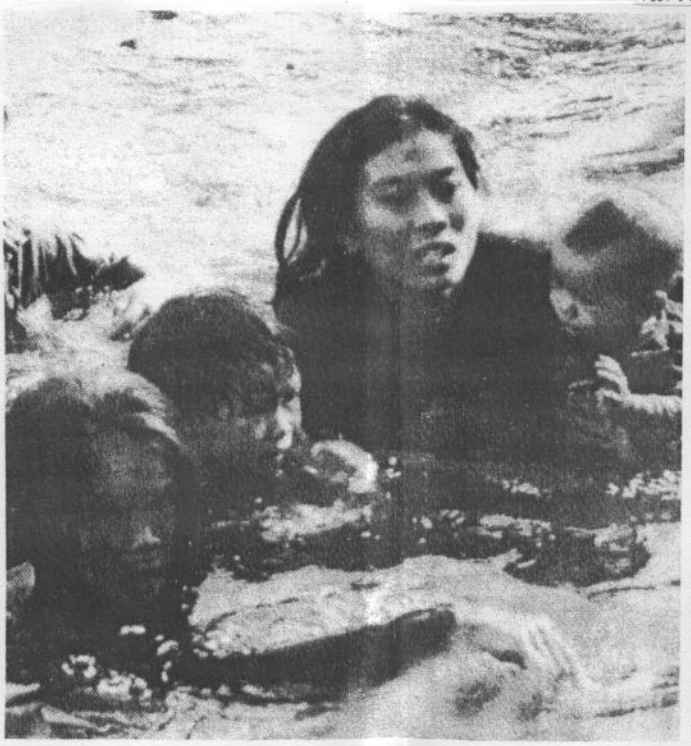
Claire Culhane demands "immediate withdrawal of all Canadian medical personnel in order to completely dissassociate ourselves from the U.S. pacification program." Instead of providing phony aid that shores up the dictatorship in Saigon, Canada should make available massive assistance to the victims of the war in all parts of Indochina.

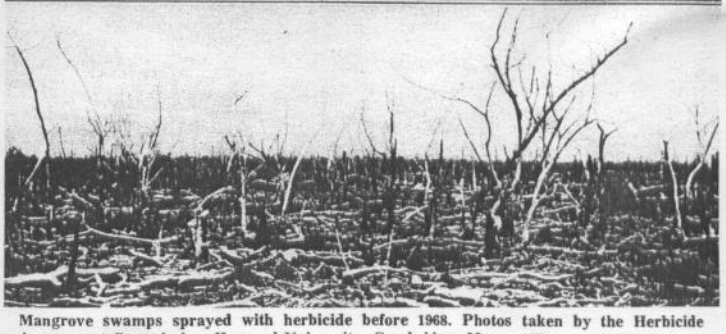
STOP THE FOREIGN AID SHAM. PROVIDE REAL AID TO THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR.

WE'RE PAYING FOR THE WAR

Sid Thompson, President of Local 1-217 of the International Woodworkers of America in British Columbia described the plight of most Canadians today: "Canadian working people are facing two major problems — — inflation and unemployment. Inflation, like a malignant disease, constantly erodes the purchasing power of ordinary people. Old age pensioners, those on fixed

→p. 2





Mangrove swamps sprayed with herbicide before 1968. Photos taken by the Herbicide Assessment Commission, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

from p. 1

incomes, the unemployed and unorganized are the major victims of constantly rising prices ... The major cause of inflation undoubtedly stems from the inflated war economy of the U.S. The fantastic sums being spent on armaments, the Vietnam war, and other American commitments throughout the world, is more than what the U.S. economy can bear. The effects of these policies spill over throughout the rest of the Western world."

It is clear that the war is a major cause of inflation. But the Trudeau government, rather than launching a serious effort to end the war, passes on the costs of the war to the Canadian people. Government spending has been cut, promoting wide-spread unemployment across the country. Meanwhile, Canada continues to feed the inflated U.S. war economy with vast sales of Canadian resources.

The U.S. government spends $80 billion per year on its military, totalling 44 percent of all military expenditures in the entire world.

Instead of attacking the living standards of Canadian workers in the anti-inflation fight, the government should fight the real cause — war.

CONVERT WAR INDUSTRIES TO PRODUCE JOBS, GOODS AND SERVICES. FIGHT INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT — END THE WAR

POLLUTION AND THE WAR

Many Canadians are deeply and justly concerned about pollution. Here again, the priorities of war and war profits divert billions of dollars, needed to solve the pollution problem, into death and destruction in Vietnam. According to articles by world renowned scientists and intellectuals collected in "Ecocide in Indochina", plant life in Vietnam has been decimated by bombing and herbicides, and erosion is irreversibly converting the poisoned soil into a peculiar rock called laterite. Malarial mosquitoes and cholera micro-organisms, bubonic bacteria and rats have multiplied enormously. The tiger population has soared due to ample supply of human meat. Starvation is producing retardation among children and the herbicide 2, 4, 5, -T, used to destroy crops in order to starve the population is causing the birth of monstrous freaks. War itself is the greatest pollutant.

FIGHT POLLUTION — END THIS IMMORAL WAR

AMERICAN EXILES

Canada has a well-established history of providing refuge for political expatriots. Cheyenne Indians, British Empire Loyalists, Doukabours, Hungarians and many others have all been welcome here. Many have contributed to our country and made it a richer country, both physically and culturally. Despite Trudeau's public statements of Canada being a "haven against militarism" to the political refugees from the United States, Canada's attitude has been ambiguous. American exiles have been harrassed by Canadian authorities acting on information from the American FBI. Some American deserters have even been kidnapped and returned to the U.S. by the R.C.M.P. Canada gives no special assistance to refugees from the U.S. war, as it has done for political refugees from Eastern Europe.

The Canadian government should publicly welcome U.S. dissenters into Canada, providing assistance so that they can establish themselves. Canadian police authorities must stop collaborating with the U.S. government in harassing American exiles.

OPEN THE BORDERS TO AMERICAN DISSENTERS

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE RESEARCH

The Defence Research Board, a Canadian government body, operates two chemical-biological laboratories, one at Shirley's Bay, near Ottawa, and the other at Suffield, Alberta. Canada and the United States have a joint program of research into deadly chemical and biological weaponry. Canadian troops are being trained to use these materials.

An example of the type of research done in Canada was described by Martin O'Malley in the January 31, 1970, Toronto Globe & Mail Magazine: A dilute solution of the nerve agent, Sarin, was sprayed into the faces of 13 volunteers. "The pupils of the eyes constrict to pinhole size; and a soldier would see dusk as night and a moonlit night as a moonless one. Tests were done to determine a soldier's ability to fire a rifle, drive a truck or recognize a foe. While

→p.3

from p. 2

myotic, his effectiveness was cut in half. This has obvious battlefield applications and is an example of how defensive research can lead to offensive developments."

Canada signed the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. The United States refused to sign the Protocol in 1925 and has not endorsed it to this day. Poison gases are frequently used by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Public Health in Reverse? Biological weapons include such diseases as anthrax: death can result in 24 hours; germs from spores can remain alive for more than 20 years. Other weapons include Bubonic Plague (the Black Death), and Eastern Equine Encephalitis. According to Norman Cousins, writing in the Saturday Review, October 3, 1970, "An anti-cholinesterase substance has been devised that is so powerful that a pencil point of it on the human skin can produce a heart attack."

An annual budget of $6 million supports Biological and Chemical research in Canada. Our research can be used to help destroy the environment of Vietnam or Canada. This research, whether in defence stations or in our universities, must end.

CLOSE THE SUFFIELD AND SHIRLEY BAY GERM WARFARE CENTERS

TURN THE CBW FACILITIES INTO ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITIES

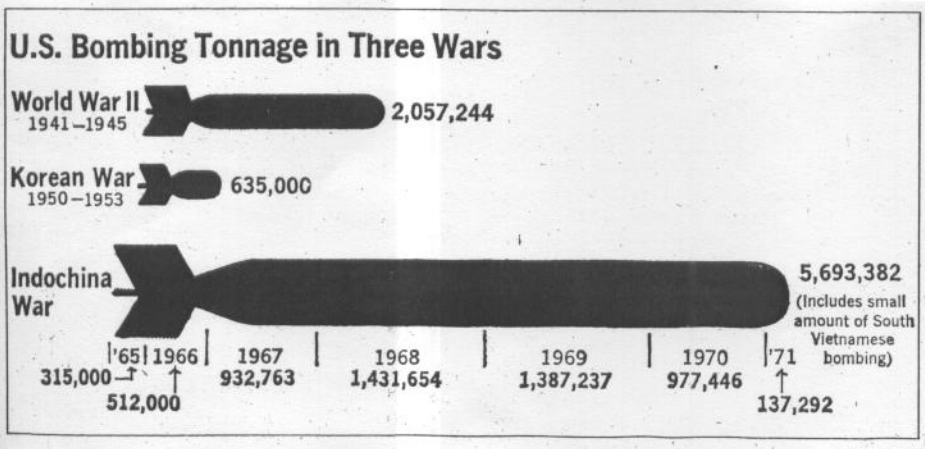
THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The York Committee to End the War in Vietnam is part of the cross-Canada and worldwide effort to end this ghastly war. We want to inform Canadians of the real facts of the war, and launch massive protests, that can end Canada's complicity and force the U.S. government to withdraw its troops from Southeast Asia. In the past, Nixon has used the pretext of phased withdrawal to de-fuse the anti-war sentiment while simultaneously extending the war to all of Southeast Asia. Anything short of immediate withdrawal would serve to prolong the bombings, the loss of American lives, and the atrocities suffered by the people of S.E. Asia.

WITHDRAW ALL U.S. AND ALLIED TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT FROM ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA IMMEDIATELY

Following is a partial list of sponsors of this statement:

Farley Mowat — Canadian author
Rev. W.G. Zwicker — Toronto
Gus Tolentino, M.D. — Toronto
Karl Jaffary — Toronto alderman
Kay Macpherson — Toronto
George Harris — Secretary-Treasurer, UE
Dennis McDermott — UAW International Vice-President and Director for Canada
Robert McCarthy — York University
Hans Blumenfeld — Toronto town planner
Kenneth Golby — Toronto
James A. Norton — United Steel Workers of America
Andre Bekerman — CUPE
Rabbi Arthur Bielfeld — Willowdale
George Addison — Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Toronto
Joe Meslin — Ontario Regional Director, Millinery Workers
John Riddell — Toronto mayoralty candidate
Phyllis Clark — Toronto
Rev. G.V. Kimball — Toronto
Dorothy Henderson — author of 'People Have Power' — King



New York Times

The York Committee seeks to educate the public and ourselves about the true facts of the war in Vietnam through meetings, films, sale of literature and research from many different sources. Some of our members take part in peaceful demonstrations. Some of us help draft resistors. We have tagged for funds for Quaker Medical Aid to all parts of Vietnam.

York Committee to End The War in Vietnam

BOX 272,
RICHMOND HILL,
ONTARIO

- ☐ I am enclosing a donation to help reprint this statement
- ☐ I have written to my M.P. to protest Canada's role in Vietnam
- ☐ I would like to join the York Committee

Please send me copies of this statement for distribution

- ☐ U.S. Department of Defence Contracts with Canadian Universities and Canadian arms manufacturers.
- ☐ Bertrand Russel's War Crimes in Vietnam ($1.00)
- ☐ Canada's Complicity in Vietnam (Joe Young) (25c)
- ☐ Dr. Spock on Vietnam (75c)

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

241 Victoria St.,
Toronto 2, Ont.

March 3/71.
To Antiwar Committees and Groups across Canada

Dear Friends,

At a meeting on February 25th, the V.M.C. decided to hold a mass march and rally in Toronto on April 25th against the continuing and escalating war in Southeast Asia and Canada's continued complicity in the war.

In the United States, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) have called for mass protests in the U.S. and around the world on April 24th in response to Nixon's most recent and dangerous escalation of the war. The V.M.C. calls on committees and groups all across Canada to respond to this call by holding antiwar actions in their areas on the weekend of the 24th. Only the concerted action by millions in the U.S. and around the world is going to put a halt to Nixon's aggression. Only the united effort of thousands of Canadians in every centre across the country can put an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

Recent developments point to tremendous opportunities for building the April actions. Just last week, the Ontario Provincial Council of the New Democratic Party unanimously endorsed the April 24th day of protest. The N.D.P. national convention will be meeting in Ottawa up to the 24th. Indications are that in all likelihood, the entire convention can be drawn into building a massive demonstration in Ottawa around that date.

The current escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, with all the ominous dangers it portends for the entire world has angered millions throughout the world. In Canada we have a great opportunity to tap this increased antiwar sentiment by building the broadest, most militant protest actions this spring.

ALL OUT ON APRIL 24th!

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA NOW!

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY!

Yours fraternally,

George Addison,
Executive Secretary.

MOBILIZER

APRIL 1971

TO END MASS MURDER IN VIETNAM

Published by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Toronto, Ontario.

Trudeau, Sharp War Criminals!

Despite the devastating defeat of the cream of the Saigon regime's troops in Laos, and the growing antiwar sentiment among American troops, Nixon goes on expanding the war. "Vietnamization is reduced to a hollow joke.

The Trudeau government continues to permit the squandering of Canadian resources as part of the U.S. war machine.

Trudeau and his government still supports U.S. policy in Southeast Asia.

As public protest against the war grows, the U.S. government attempts to sidetrack the people of the world with diversions like the Calley trial. The millions who have been mobilized against the Vietnam war will not be sidetracked. We intend to call to account the real war criminals -- Nixon, Laird, Trudeau and Sharp.

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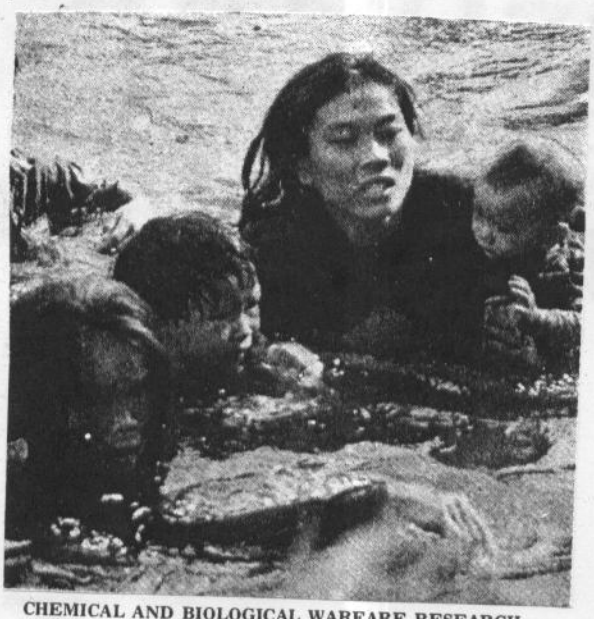
NO CANADIAN STRATEGIC RESOURCES FOR THE U.S. WAR MACHINE



CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE RESEARCH

The Defence Research Board, a Canadian government body, operates two chemical-biological laboratories, one at Shirley's Bay, near Ottawa, and the other at Suffield, Alberta. Canada and the United States have a joint program of research into deadly chemical and biological weaponry. Canadian troops are being trained to use these materials.

An example of the type of research done in Canada was described by Martin O'Malley in the January 21, Toronto Globe and Mail: A dilute solution of the nerve agent, Sarin, was sprayed into the faces of 13 volunteers. "The pupils of the eyes constrict to pinhole size; and a soldier would see dusk as night and a moonlit night as a moonless one. Tests were done to determine a soldier's ability to fire a rifle, drive a truck or recognize a foe. While myotic, his effectiveness was cut in half. This has obvious battlefield applications and is an example of how defensive research can lead to offensive developments."

Canada signed the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. The United States refused to sign the Protocol in 1925 and has not endorsed it to this day. Poison gases are frequently used by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Public Health in Reverse? Biological weapons include such diseases as anthrax: death can result in 24 hours; germs from spores can remain alive for more than 20 years. Other weapons include Bubonic Plague (the Black Death), and Eastern Equine Encephalitis. According to Norman Cousins, writing in the Saturday Review, October 3, 1970, "An anti-cholinesterase substance has been devised that is so powerful that a pencil point of it on the human skin can produce a heart attack."

An annual budget of $6 million supports Biological and Chemical research in Canada. Our research can be used to help destroy the environment of Vietnam or Canada. This research, whether in defence stations or in our universities, must end.

CLOSE THE SUFFIELD AND SHIRLEY BAY GERM WARFARE CENTERS

TURN THE CBW FACILITIES INTO ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITIES

WE'RE PAYING FOR THE WAR

Sid Thompson, President of Local 1-217 of the International Woodworkers of America in British Columbia described the plight of most Canadians today: "Canadian working people are facing two major problems — — inflation and unemployment. Inflation, like a malignant disease, constantly erodes the purchasing power of ordinary people. Old age pensioners, those on fixed incomes, the unemployed and unorganized are the major victims of constantly rising prices ... The major cause of inflation undoubtedly stems from the inflated war economy of the U.S. The fantastic sums being spent on armaments, the Vietnam war, and other American commitments throughout the world, is more than what the U.S. economy can bear. The effects of these policies spill over throughout the rest of the Western world."

It is clear that the war is a major cause of inflation. But the Trudeau government, rather than launching a serious effort to end the war, passes on the costs of the war to the Canadian people. Government spending has been cut, promoting wide-spread unemployment across the country. Meanwhile, Canada continues to feed the inflated U.S. war economy with vast sales of Canadian resources.

The U.S. government spends $80 billion per year on its military, totalling 44 percent of all military expenditures in the entire world.

Instead of attacking the living standards of Canadian workers in the anti-inflation fight, the government should fight the real cause — war.

CONVERT WAR INDUSTRIES TO PRODUCE JOBS, GOODS AND SERVICES. FIGHT INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT — END THE WAR

POLLUTION AND THE WAR

Many Canadians are deeply and justly concerned about pollution. Here again, the priorities of war and war profits divert billions of dollars, needed to solve the pollution problem, into death and destruction in Vietnam. According to articles by world renowned scientists and intellectuals collected in "Ecocide in Indochina", plant life in Vietnam has been decimated by bombing and herbicides, and erosion is irreversibly converting the poisoned soil into a peculiar rock called laterite. Malarial mosquitoes and cholera micro-organisms, bubonic bacteria and rats have multiplied enormously. The tiger population has soared due to ample supply of human meat. Starvation is producing retardation among children and the herbicide 2, 4, 5, -T, used to destroy crops in order to starve the population is causing the birth of monstrous freaks. War itself is the greatest pollutant.

FIGHT POLLUTION — END THIS IMMORAL WAR

AMERICAN EXILES

Canada has a well-established history of providing refuge for political expatriots. Cheyenne Indians, British Empire Loyalists, Doukabours, Hungarians and many others have all been welcome here. Many have contributed to our country and made it a richer country, both physically and culturally. Despite Trudeau's public statements of Canada being a "haven against militarism" to the political refugees from the United States, Canada's attitude has been ambiguous. American exiles have been harrassed by Canadian authorities acting on information from the American FBI. Some American deserters have even been kidnapped and returned to the U.S. by the R.C.M.P. Canada gives no special assistance to refugees from the U.S. war, as it has done for political refugees from Eastern Europe.

The Canadian government should publicly welcome U.S. dissenters into Canada, providing assistance so that they can establish themselves. Canadian police authorities must stop collaborating with the U.S. government in harassing American exiles.

OPEN THE BORDERS TO AMERICAN DISSENTERS

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee and the antiwar committee in your area are part of the worldwide campaign to end this ghastly war. We want to inform Canadians of the real facts of the war, and launch massive protests that can end Canada's complicity and force the U.S. government to withdraw its troops from Southeast Asia.

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW
END CANADA'S COMPLICITY

Please clip and mail to

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
241 Victoria, at Dundas, Toronto 364-5030

☐ I want to help build the action.

☐ I want literature on Vietnam.

☐ I enclose a contribution of $..... to help pay the cost of organizing the action.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Phone .....

Vietnam Mobilization Committee

241 Victoria St.
Toronto 2, Ont.

863-0494

April 6, 1971

Dear Friends,

An indication of the potential for building mass support for the International Day of Protest is the initial support from the following students councils and students. We encourage you to use this in your own area to seek high school and university stduent leaders to endorse the April 24-25 actions.

We, the undersigned, endorse the April 24-25 International Day of Protest against the war in Southeast Asia. We urge other student representatives and councils to endorse the actions against the war in their area and support them in any manner possible.

Signed

University of British Colombia Students Council
Vancouver City College Student Council
Joan Campana----UBC Ombudswoman
Brian Sproule---UBC Arts Representative
R. Smith---------UBC Internal Affairs Officer
Evert Hoogers---UBC AMS Secretary
Susan Kennedy---UBC AMS Coordinator
Art Smolensky---UBC Student Senator
Linda Meissenheimer--SFU President-Elect
Tony de Felice--York U. Student Federation Founders College rep.
Kathy Beeman----McMaster Univ., Student Union rep.
Doug Croker-----Trent Univ., Champlain College student president
Michel Trudeau--TU Champlain vice-president
Bob Tapscott----TU Champlain 2nd vice-pres.

Seek out sponsors and send them to us as you get them. Use them as part of your local publicity.

Yours,

Walter Davis, Coordinator

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

241 Victoria Street
Toronto 2, Ontario

New Phone Number:
863-0494

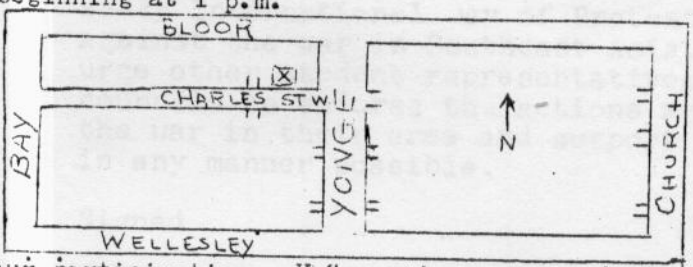
Dear Friends,

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee is planning its regional spring offensive against the continuing war in Southeast Asia on April 25.

The defeat of the Saigon troops in Laos and the growing resistance within the American army point to the opportunity for growth in opposition to the war.

The announcement of unity among the major antiwar groups in the United States for joint action on the International Day of Protest promises massive demonstrations in the U.S.

The VMC is calling a Southern Ontario Regional Conference for April 4. Antiwar Committees from across the region will be meeting to map out plans for a rally and march on April 25 in Toronto. The conference will be held on the third floor of the Charles Street Apartments, 30 Charles Street West, beginning at 1 p.m.



We need your participation. VMC meetings will be held every Thursday night at 8:00 p.m. at Metropolitan Church, 51 Bond St., Toronto.

Funds to build all aspects of this spring action are urgently needed. Send your cheque to VMC, 241 Victoria St., Toronto.

ALL OUT ON APRIL 25th!

Fraternally,

Walter Davis
April 25th Coordinator

____I want to participate in the April 4th Antiwar Conference
____Enclosed is a contribution to help end the war ($_____)
____Please add my name to your mailing list

Name_____Address_____
City_____Zone_____Phone_____

I will need billeting____ and/or child care _____ on April 4.

Return to VMC, 241 Victoria, Toronto 2, or call 863-0494.

Ferndin 1971

Protest the war in Indochina

March April 24

1 PM Assemble: Lansdowne Pk.

3:00 PM Rally: Parliament Hill

1971?

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW
END CANADA'S COMPLICITY
INDOCHINA for the INDOCHINESE

In spite of token withdrawals and pious promises of peace from Nixon, the Vietnam War has escalated into a war of aggression against Indochina. The invasion of Laos was confirmed on February 7th, and similar operations have been taking place in Cambodia for months. Warnings from China against this new escalation cannot be ignored. The U.S. crusade in South-East Asia threatens the world with World War Three.

Canada is very much involved in the Indochina war. The Canadian government supports the war aims of the U.S.and has almost doubled its sale of arms to the U.S. in the last few years. The "improved" napalm used in Vietnam was developed at Shirley's Bay, a base just twelve miles from Parliament Hill. The Canadian government has even offered Canadian troops for "peace-keeping" purposes in South-East Asia.

The War affects all Canadians. Massive war expenditures must be halted if we are to solve the problems of pollution and inflation. The War is the main cause of therunaway inflation which has resulted in massive unemployment throughout Canada. This inflation, caused to a great degree by our tie-up with the U.S. war economy has been the mainexcuse for big cutbacks in housing, school and day-dare construction programs, as well as cuts in welfare and education, especially the student loan program. Despite this, the Trudeau government continues to promote the sale of arms to the U.S. and the growth of Canadian branch-plants to U.S. arms producers, strengthening the dangerous tie between Canada and the U.S. warfare economy.

The movement that unseated Johnson must continue! Join the April 24th March on Parliament to demand:

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW!
END CANADIAN COMPLICITY!
INDOCHINA FOR THE INDOCHINESE!

Ottawa Vietnam Mobilization Committee
Postal Box 4185 Station "E"
Ottawa Phone 232-9945 236-4339

---please clip and send in---

I enclose $ .00 to help pay the costs of the action.

I want to help organize and publicize the action.....

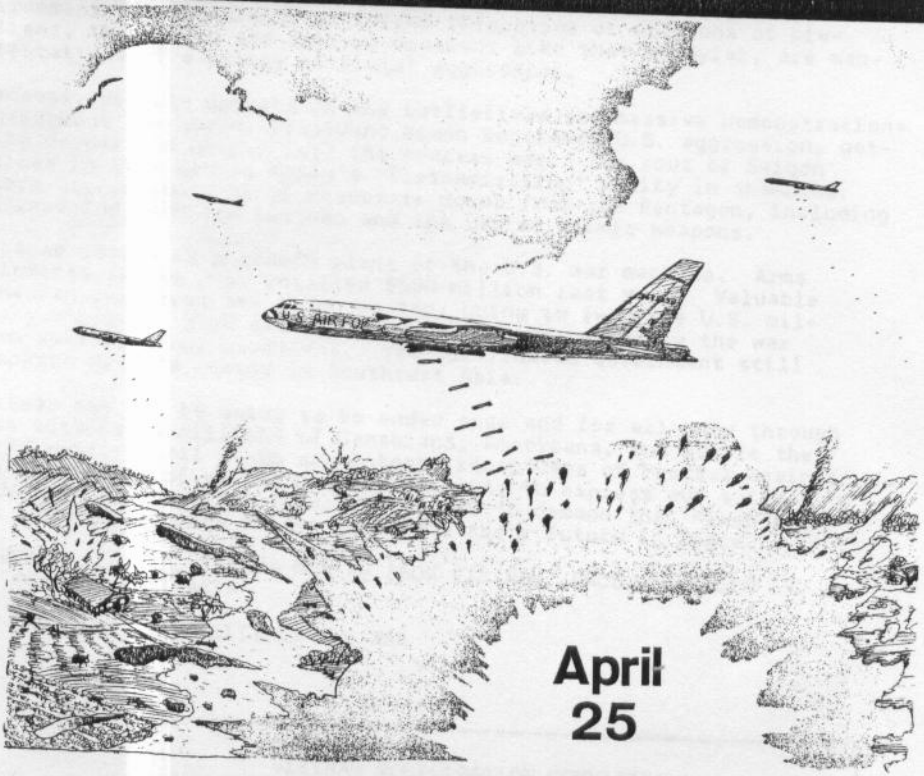
I want to be informed of further developments .....

Name..... Phone No.....

Address.....

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

Protest against the War



April 25

MARCH BEGINS AT QUEENS PARK 2PM
RALLY AT CITY HALL SQUARE 3PM TORONTO

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW
END CANADA'S COMPLICITY

Why you should march on April 25

* Because U.S. policy in Southeast Asia adds up to genocide against the people. Saturation bombings, the use of gas, defoliants, and poison, have set off an ecological chain that could destroy the environment of all Asia. The forced relocation of millions of civilians, the search and destroy missions like that of Mylai, are manifestations of a policy of brutal aggression.

* Because, despite defeats on the battlefield and massive demonstrations throughout the world, President Nixon continues U.S. aggression, getting deeper and deeper into the endless war. The rout of Saigon forces in Laos leaves Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy in shambles. There are indications of desperate moves from the Pentagon, including an invasion of North Vietnam and the use of atomic weapons.

* Because Canada is a branch plant of the U.S. war machine. Arms shipments to the U.S. totalled $500 million last year. Valuable Canadian resources are being wasted, going to feed the U.S. military monster. High prices and unemployment caused by the war mean suffering for Canadians. Yet the Trudeau government still supports Nixon's policy in Southeast Asia.

* Because the war is going to be ended once and for all only through mass actions by millions of Canadians, Americans, and people the world over. April 24-25 are International Days of Protest against the war. Each of us has a responsibility to express our solidarity with the plight of the Indochinese, and to demand that Nixon and his allies leave the Asians to decide their future in peace.

WITHDRAW ALL U.S. TROOPS NOW -- FROM VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA AND ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY IN THE WAR

clip and mail to

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
241 Victoria St., Toronto 2, tel. 863-0494

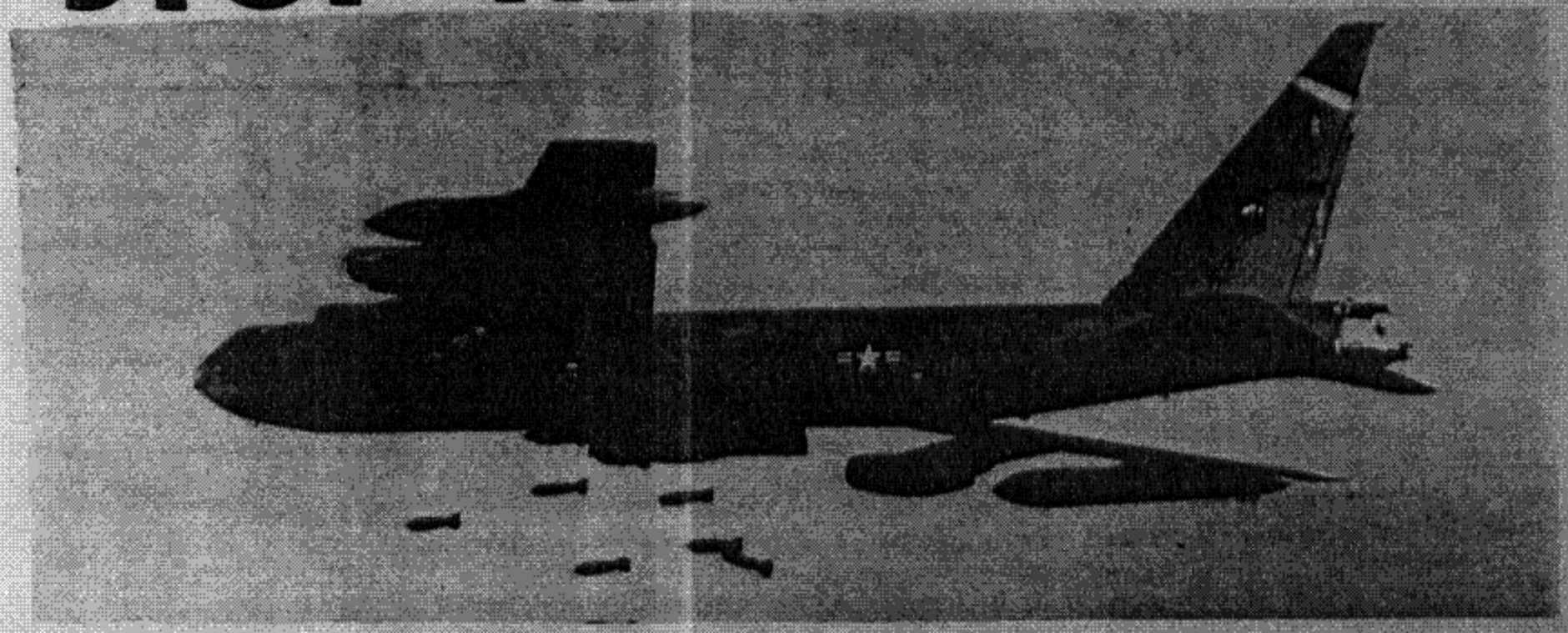
Call me. I want to help build the action.

Enclosed is a contribution of $_____ to help end the war.

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ZONE_____PHONE_____

STOP THE BOMBING !



Emergency Action Conference

METROPOLITAN UNITED CHURCH - Bond and Shuter Sts., Tor.

...on the crisis in Vietnam and the federal election.

SATURDAY 30 SEPT.

Speakers:

10 A.M. REGISTRATION
Childcare
Workshops
Literature

RUTH-ANNE MILLER-National Peace Action Coalition
TOM BAKER-University of Guelph S.M.C.
Prominent N.D.P. representatives

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY
U.S. OUT NOW

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE 241 VICTORIA ST. TORONTO 2 863 0494

__ I would like more information
__ I can pledge $____ each month to sustain VMC/SMC
__ I am contributing __$5, __$10, __$25, ___other
__ I want to volunteer to work with VMC/SMC

Name_____ Address _____
Phone_____ Organiz./School_____

VMC

labor Challenge #23 Jan. 18 1971

On the left

Mark Gans

My Lai trials — put Nixon, generals in dock!

The people who run America's corporate empire should be in the dock with Lieutenant William Calley at the My Lai massacre trial now unfolding at Fort Benning, Georgia. Space for Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson should be saved in the front row.

For if Calley is guilty of war crimes, what is one to make of the brass in Washington and Saigon who methodically plot the genocidal bombing missions and search-and-destroy raids in Vietnam?

Instead, we have the charade of the Pentagon sitting in judgment on the atrocities committed by a single junior officer in a small village in South Vietnam better than three years ago. That's like the Mafia holding court on petty thieves.

There is a reason for this spectacular show trial, though. Shortly after the embarrassing My Lai revelations forced the army to act, the then American proconsul in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, expressed his grave concern about "those who would have these incidents reflect on the army as a whole," as he sought to convince us that atrocities like My Lai were "the actions of a pitiful few."

It won't wash. The pitiful few is the terrifying many. Incidents like My Lai are not rare, as any informed observer of the Vietnamese war will tell you. Every village and every hamlet is a potential My Lai.

My Lai is unique only in that it was razed directly by infantrymen rather than by the more sophisticated accoutrements of modern warfare, and because it is one of the few documented instances of American war crimes which have been given widespread coverage by the self-censoring bourgeois press, ever wary about publicizing "Communist" atrocity tales.

But what of the My Lais we don't know about? And what of the My Lais wiped out daily by the organized, impersonal, saturation bombing and shelling by U.S. armed forces?

If the situation is not unique, neither are the men. They all are, on the contrary, depressingly normal. Calley was known to his high school principal as an "average American boy with good moral qualities." The same might be said of the others. What, then, is behind the plaintive cry of one agonized mother that "I sent the army a son and they sent me back a murderer?"

Try for a start the racist nature of an imperialist army which practises genocide against a near-defenceless revolutionary people. Calley, so his friends report, did not admit to any strong feelings about the war or any particular dislike of the Vietnamese people wnen he went over. It was learned behavior.

The slaughter which occurred at My Lai began when Calley and the men of Charlie Company quickly learned that Vietnamese lives were cheap because every Vietnamese was a living target. It is no accident that civilians are indiscriminately bombed over wide areas known as free-fire zones. What we have here is a deliberate attempt at genocide no less pronounced than that of the Nazis against the Jews.

Sceptics have only to consult the testimony of the recently concluded National Veterans Inquiry into U.S. War Policy which heard Vietnam veterans recount numberless cases of U.S. atrocities — pointing to a systematic policy of murder of noncombatants, torture of suspects and the approval or whitewashing of such acts by high-ranking officers. For if the Americans have learned few lessons from Vietnam, they have learned the dictum that guerrillas only survive with the support of the people. And they've drawn the logical corollary: If you can't remove the guerrillas, remove the people. Those who have survived the constant bombardment of the countryside, have had to flee in terror to the cities.

It is the kind of policy which breeds attitudes like that expressed by one member of Calley's platoon, commenting on My Lai: "If you shoot bombs and artillery in there every night, how can the people be worth much?" Racism, too, is infectious and contaminates every recruit. Not untypical is the example set by one brigade commander who called his helicopter the "Gookmobile," listing his kills on the fuselage with a neatly painted row of conical hats.

So it is that the context for a My Lai massacre is provided. Someone started firing, and all the pent-up frustration and racial contempt came spewing out in bursts of machine-gun fire. When the firing stopped, more than 500 innocent old men, women, and children were dead.

Calley was charged with the deaths of 127 Vietnamese civilians. The My Lai killer is in the dock. But the atrocities continue. Nor will they stop until the real war criminals are brought to heel.

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 3 (25) February 15, 1971 15 cents

NDP left runs for leadership
page 3

U.S. out of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam!
Build protests for withdrawal now

FEBRUARY 9 — "The U.S. invasion of Laos constitutes a qualitative escalation of the war in Indochina," George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, said today. "We call on every antiwar group across Canada to take appropriate action to protest the widening war in South-east Asia."

"Thousands of Saigon regime troops, under U.S. air cover, have crossed the border into Laos to attack supposed enemy supply lines," the statement continues.

"Similar operations of Saigon troops and U.S. air bombardment have been taking place in Cambodia for months.

"A new offensive by U.S. troops in the northern section of South Vietnam has been underway for weeks. This operation includes the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to the south, leaving the area barren for saturation bombing, an attack on North Vietnam, or nuclear attacks.

"The promises of withdrawal by U.S. forces are now clearly shown to be a fraud. The U.S. does not intend to withdraw until all resistance is crushed, or Indochina turned into a wasteland.

"External Affairs Minister Sharp's statement yesterday that he 'appreciates the motives of the U.S. in Laos' is blatant proof of Canada's complicity in the South-east Asian war," said VMC executive secretary George Addison.

"As for Sharp's solution — reconstitution of the International Control Commission — the cure is as bad as the sickness," said Addison. "NDP MP Andrew Brewin was right to reply by demanding Canada's withdrawal from this discredited tool of the oppressors of Indochina.

"The VMC views these actions against the Laos invasion as part of the renewed campaign now being launched against the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, which will culminate in worldwide demonstrations on April 24."

Even before the invasion was officially announced, several effective protests had been organized.

Over 100 people participated in a protest called hurriedly by the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee Feb. 4.

Participation in the demonstration indicated a reentry of forces which had earlier abandoned the antiwar movement. Individuals from both the Communist Party-backed conservative wing and the now defunct ultra-left confrontationist wing of the movement participated in the VAC action. The demonstration was also attended by many who had never participated in an antiwar action before.

Vietnam Action Committee executive member Martin Thompson called on the demonstrators to help build the VAC, to help plan for a massive mobilization on April 24, set by the National Peace Action Coalition in the U.S. as an International Day of Mass Antiwar Action. Banners and signs read "Hands off Laos," "Withdraw All U.S. Troops from Indo-China Now" and "End Canada's Complicity."

In Toronto on Feb. 3, 60 picketed the U.S. consulate in an action called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. NDP candidate Dan Heap, addressing the protesters, drew the parallel between the U.S. war against the popular liberation struggle in Southeast Asia and Trudeau's "war measures" against Quebec.

Vietnamese Appeal

Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Toronto:

Laos invasion by tens of thousands of U.S., Saigon and Thai troops. Possibility U.S. using tactical nuclear warfare. Urgently mobilize peace forces in your area to prevent U.S. military ventures in Indochina.

Paris Delegation
Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam

labor Challenge #25 Feb. 15 1971

U.S. aim is conquest of all S-E Asia

Nixon 'Vietnamizes' Laos, Cambodia

by Harry Kopyto

On Feb. 8 the U.S. announced its invasion of Laos by the U.S. air force and 20,000 South Vietnamese ground troops. The new U.S. outrage constitutes a major escalation of Nixon's plan to destroy the growing revolution in Southeast Asia.

Except for a few novel touches, like the news blackout that preceded the invasion, the excuses, rationalizations and explanations are familiar to all by now. As when the U.S. first initiated its large-scale invasion of Vietnam, the incursion into Laos is "fully consistent with international law." As was the case with the invasion of Cambodia, the intervention into Laos "would promote the security and safety of U.S. and allied forces." And, of course, American combat forces are simply playing a "supportive role."

But the facts once again belie the myths of the American warmakers. A Feb. 9 Globe and Mail report from Washington quoted a White House official to the effect that the invasion was planned "for some time, before January of this year."

The invasion was far from being a response to a North Vietnamese buildup in southern Laos as Secretary of State William Rogers claimed Jan. 29. Rather a major cause of the invasion was the rising revolutionary tide in Laos itself, headed by the Pathet Lao. White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler admitted Jan. 8 that the pro-U.S. Laotian government "exercises no control over that area of Laos. . .It has been for years an area of combat."

It was reported on Feb. 3 that the Laotian revolutionary Pathet Lao had overrun several government positions in the north, including Muong Soul, the key center of the Plain of Jars. They also had encircled the royal capital of Luang Prabang.

In the southern panhandle of the country — which borders on South Vietnam, where Saigon-U.S. forces have been reported amassed — a major build-up of revolutionary forces was reported. Clearly, the real reason for the pending invasion of Laos is to try to save Souvanna Phouma's regime. Nixon's Laotian puppet is in deep trouble.

The invasion of Laos follows further escalation in Cambodia. To prop up the faltering pro-American regime in Cambodia, the United States revealed Jan. 28 that U.S. planes, including giant B-52 bombers, had flown up to forty sorties per day in battles around Pnompenh. On Jan. 25, U.S. troops in civilian clothes were flown into the Pnompenh airport to "rescue" damaged helicopters. The Jan. 26 Washington Post quoted Defense Department officials who admitted that U.S. Special Forces were training Cambodian cadres at bases in Thailand and South Vietnam and that such training within Cambodia was not prohibited by Congressional legislation in the opinion of the Pentagon.

The real meaning of Nixon's Vietnamization program is becoming clear: the whole of Southeast Asia is being "Vietnamized" and American troops and equipment are being deployed in an ever-expanding and barbarous war under the pretext that a little more bombing and bloodletting will do the trick. Nixon, and the world monopolies that dictate his policy, have only one interest in Southeast Asia: to destroy the popular revolution that is enveloping that part of the world, and ultimately to hit out at China.

Where Nixon will go from here is impossible to tell. The American rulers, hiding their actions behind news blackouts, camouflaging their aggression with doubletalk, are ruthless in their determination to hang on to their crumbling empire in Southeast Asia. Gigantic mass antiwar demonstrations must express the public's outrage against the new escalation.

Apr. 24 set for protests against war

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, issued an appeal in December in response to the call by the American antiwar movement for marches on Washington and San Francisco on Apr. 24. Excerpts from it follow.

In face of the obvious incapacity of American imperialism to reduce the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the aggression, and to undermine their resolution to win their their national and social liberation, the high command in Washington is cooking up new adventures and barbarous acts to "resolve" the war in Vietnam in accordance with their own schemes.

Under these conditions, it is the duty of all the revolutionary organizations throughout the world to mount the broadest and most active aid possible to the antiwar movement in the United States, in this way aiding the Vietnamese revolution with concrete acts of solidarity.

The Fourth International appeals to the workers, the students, poor farmers, and progressive intellectuals of all countries throughout the world to organize powerful demonstrations Apr. 24 in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and with the antiwar movement in the United States.

Let's make Apr. 24, 1971, a day of active world solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese revolution!

Let's demonstrate everywhere Apr. 24, 1971, showing our solidarity with the courageous antiwar movement in the United States!

For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam!

For the victory of the Vietnamese revolution — everyone in the streets Apr. 24, 1971!

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 4 (26) March 1, 1971 15 cents

Laos war deepens, N. Vietnam next? April 24 focus for antiwar protests

See page 8

by Mark Gans

Is the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos a prelude to an imminent thrust into North Vietnam?

That's what some members of the generally well-informed Saigon and Washington press corps are saying. One of them, Keyes Beech of the Toronto Star, reports that the U.S. has apparently decided to try for a military victory in Southeast Asia and will soon widen the ground war to include North Vietnam.

The escalation would take the form of a drive into North Vietnam by Saigon troops backed by massive American air support.

If the Laotian invasion fails — and U.S.-Saigon troops have taken a terrific mauling from Indochinese resistance forces this past week — the Pentagon plans amphibious landings in the North Vietnamese panhandle, Beech reported.

Some observers feel an invasion of North Vietnam could come as early as April or May.

Their claims are substantiated by heightened U.S. air activity over the North. American fighter-bombers have carried out 14 "protective reaction" strikes against North Vietnamese targets so far this year, already surpassing the total for all of 1970.

Meanwhile, the Nixon administration clings to the fiction that it is "winding down the war," and that no U.S. ground troops or advisors have been committed to the Laos fighting.

Scores of newsmen on the scene know differently. ABC, CBS, and UPI have all carried eyewitness reports of U.S. ground troops engaged in military activities inside Laos. The Vietnamese say the Americans have committed 10 battalions of infantry, armor, and artillery from the 5th Mechanized, 101st Airborne, and Americal Divisions to the campaign.

ROLLING INTO LAOS. U.S. troops crossing the Laotian border ironically marked by warning signs to go no further. Photo was taken west of Lang Vei, Feb. 6.

photo from The Militant

U.S. officials concede that "reconnaissance teams" are operating inside Laos, and issue lukewarm denials of the presence of larger American forces. Says White House press secretary Ron Zeigler weakly: "If anybody is there, they don't belong there."

Nixon's precipitous course in Indochina may be dictated, in part, by several extremely significant oil discoveries in that part of the globe.

Le Monde of Paris reported on Jan. 8 that U.S. oil concerns, after extensive explorations in offshore waters around the Southeast Asian peninsula, have discovered potentially the richest undersea fields in the world, capable of yielding more than 400 million barrels of oil per day after five years — or more than the total production of all Western countries.

Several U.S. producers, together with one Canadian and two Japanese firms, are reported buying up development rights off the coast of South Vietnam from the Saigon government.

If this is the case, the highly-politicized oil companies, which historically never enter "unstable" areas, have presumably received firm assurances from Washington that the U.S. intends to "hold" Indochina.

If the U.S. has decided to stay, it is taking a grave risk.

Its puppet regimes in Vietnam and Cambodia are tottering, the Laotian adventure is turning sour, and the morale of its army in Southeast Asia is at an all-time low.

Moreover, each new foray by the U.S. raises the possibility of a Chinese response.

If North Vietnam is invaded by ground troops, most observers agree China will be forced to reply. There is a striking similarity between the carefully measured

→ p. 2

labor Challenge #26

p.1 ←

warnings issued to U.S. imperialism by China last week, and those in 1950, just before the People's Republic reacted to the American invasion of North Korea.

Perhaps in anticipation of an attack, the Chinese have reinforced their North Vietnamese and Laotian borders, and have reportedly sent 3,000 military advisors to North Vietnam.

Recognizing that the U.S. is quickly running out of options, the Chinese have raised the specter of the Americans using nuclear weapons to stave off a final defeat in Southeast Asia. The possible use of nuclear weapons has also been mooted more frequently, and disturbingly, in the U.S. press of late.

And Canada's response to the crisis? A feeble statement by External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp calling on the moribund International Control Commission, compromised by its whitewashing of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, to "investigate" the violation of Laotian "neutrality." Sharp's silent refusal to protest the blatant invasion of Laos was a shocking reaffirmation of Canadian complicity in the U.S. war effort.

But that protest will have to come from the antiwar movement, the real representative of the Canadian people, in the streets in mass coast-to-coast actions planned for April 24.

Ontario NDP backs April 24 protest against U.S. war

FEB. 21—The Ontario New Democratic Party Provincial Council, meeting in Kitchener this weekend, voted nearly unanimously to support the April 24 world day of protest against the war in Indochina.

* * *

A general meeting of the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee has set April 24 as the date for a mass march and rally against the widening U.S. war in Southeast Asia.

Over 100 participants decided to demonstrate in conjunction with the international antiwar actions projected for that day.

The conference saw the return to the VAC of supporters of a now-defunct ultra-left grouping that had previously held rival actions under the slogan "Support the National Liberation Front".

#27 Mar. 15 1971

labor Challenge

As Nixon's invasion bogs down

China warns U.S. on Laos

With a major defeat for American-backed forces in Laos becoming more probable day by day, the Washington warlords are considering two options: open use of U.S. troops in Laos and an invasion of North Vietnam.

The background for these outrageous threats is the mounting setbacks of Saigon forces in Laos, described by the deputy to chief military commander Gen. Creighton W. Abrams as "worse than Tet" — the massive 1968 military offensive of the Vietnamese people.

The initial sanguine reports emanating from Washington about the success of the Laotian invasion are being buried under a sea of facts indicating that the Laotian adventure is turning into a major disaster. No longer is there talk of seizing Tchepone and other Laotian centers, or of an invasion "limited in time and space." Saigon units are barely able to hang on to a few hilltops around key targets.

On Feb. 20, Saigon's elite 39th Ranger Battalion was overrun, suffering casualties to two-thirds of the battalion. The Feb. 23 Le Monde reports that along Route 9 in Laos, South Vietnamese soldiers were forcibly seizing supporting helicopters to flee the combat zone. Even the main supply base for the invasion at Quangtri was hit by rockets Feb. 24.

And following boasts that traffic in the invasion zone (the "Ho Chi Minh trail") had been cut in half, the U.S. military admitted on March 8 that traffic had been restored to the pre-invasion level of 1,600 trucks a night.

Reporter Alvin Shuster, writing from Saigon in the New York Times Feb. 28, asked a commanding Saigon colonel what his forces should do. "Try to get out. . ." was the answer.

But the ruling circles in Washington, oblivious to world opinion, instead of getting out are sinking deeper into the mire. Nixon's puppet in Saigon, Thieu, was quoted Feb. 25 as saying that an invasion of North Vietnam "only depended on a time factor." Three days later, Henry Kamm reported in the New York Times that the "hottest" rumor in Saigon "is that the Saigon administration is planning an invasion of North Vietnam." On Feb. 20 and 21, Nixon staged the biggest bombing raids over North Vietnam in months.

Responding to this major offensive, a Chinese spokesman declared in late February that "China and the three Indochinese countries are brothers as close as legs and arms. . .We resolutely fulfil our internationalist obligation of a big rear area to a big frontline now struggling against the U.S."

Many pro-American sources have indicated that they believe China means business. Typical was the reaction of an American diplomat in Southeast Asia, quoted in the March 1 Newsweek: "Any indication that the North Vietnamese regime might collapse for any cause would be regarded as an unacceptable threat to China's security."

A statement in official Chinese organ Feb. 20 underlined the seriousness with which China regards the latest escalation: "Laos is not located in the northwest of Europe or in South America, but in the north of Indochina. . .Laos and China are linked by the same mountains and the same rivers and have a common border of several hundred kilometers. Nixon should not lose his head or forget such elementary notions of geography."

But Nixon, and the tiny handful of rulers that back him, as they push humanity to the brink of a third world war, seem to remember only their own imperialist interests.

U.S. tanks firing into Laos.

Plan actions to combat S-E Asia war

Antiwar activists from across Saskatchewan and Alberta will meet in Edmonton March 20-21 to plan a spring mobilization against the Indochinese war.

Before them will be a proposal of the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam to join the worldwide protests April 24-25 against U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

Reports so far indicate that participants are coming from Saskatoon, Regina, Red Deer and Calgary, where a new antiwar group is now being established.

The first day of the conference will consist of a mock trial of Prime Minister Trudeau. Participants are being invited from unemployed committees, the women's liberation movement, the labor movement, and other groups.

The Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee decided Feb. 25 to hold a mass march and rally in Toronto April 25. It has called on antiwar committees and groups across Canada to join in a united mobilization for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

labor Challenge #28 Mar. 29 1971

Nixon still seeks escalation

Laos war fiasco for U.S.

MARCH 23 — The final chapter was being written this week to the murderous and futile U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos.

One month after their invasion, Saigon's tattered elite units were streaming back to South Vietnam in panicky disarray — troops clinging in terror to outgoing helicopter landing skids — with resistance forces in hot pursuit.

The ferocious resistance by the revolutionary forces — described as "worse than Tet" by U.S. military commanders — banged shut the lid on the last remnants of U.S. hopes that their South Vietnamese puppets could carry the war.

The mutiny and refusal to fight of 53 U.S. soldiers March 21, highly publicized, was only one of countless incidents testifying to the growing disintegration of the U.S. combat force itself.

Yet Washington is hinting that the response to this historic defeat may be even more devastating escalation of the war.

Not even Pentagonese could mask the scale of the defeat. The U.S. command which had started by saying that the invasion had gravely weakened "Hanoi" (the Indochinese resistance) ended by conceding that its Saigon puppet troops were engaged in "mobile maneuvering" (being routed) in Laos.

All the hypocrisy and deceit, long an integral part of the U.S. war effort, were invoked to soften a ten-year old story of genocidal butchery against the people of Indochina which ranges from relentless aerial bombing of everything that moves to brutal My Lai massacres to commonplace murder and torture of civilians.

It has reached the point where even senior U.S. field commanders are reacting to the carnage. One of them, Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert formally laid charges last week against two of his commanding officers for covering up war crimes against Vietnamese civilians.

Despite all this, the Nixon administration blindly continues to engage in "madness and recklessness" in Southeast Asia. The phrase is China's, which used it last week to underscore its warnings that Chinese troops would go to the defense of North Vietnam to counter any U.S. invasion of that country.

A U.S. invasion of the North is no small possibility, particularly on the heels of the Laos fiasco. It has been mooted by the Saigon and Washington press corps for weeks. The Americans have also stepped up the air war to the point where they had almost every one of their available combat planes in Indochina over North Vietnam last week.

And Nixon, in his recent press conference, hinted broadly that if the war continues to go badly and "threatens an orderly U.S. withdrawal," the U.S. would mount an invasion of the North by Saigon troops.

What kind of twisted logic is it that propels the U.S. war machine to almost certain disaster?

Perhaps the same kind of twisted logic that sees murderous U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia in the following way:

"If I lived in another country that wanted to be sure and retain its right to self-determination," Nixon told the New York Times last week, "I would say: 'Thank God that the United States exists at this moment of history.' "

The Vietnamese, the Cambodians, the Laotians, are saying differently, and are saying so in the most decisive way possible.

A massive turnout of antiwar forces here and abroad April 24 is all the more vital to block further U.S. escalation and strike another blow for self-determination is Southeast Asia: for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

ROUTED IN LAOS. Washington and its Saigon puppets, blocked in Laos invasion, now consider new escalations.

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 8 (30) April 26, 1971 15 cents

Trudeau's guilt for Indochina war atrocities

page 7

Waffle challenge to NDP congress shows need for socialist course

page 3

photo by Stone

labor Challenge #30 Apr. 26, 1971

Trudeau – Vietnam war criminal

by **Joe Young**

First Lieutenant William Calley has been sentenced to a life term at hard labor for his part in the My Lai massacre. But where does responsibility for the atrocities end? That is the question more and more people are asking themselves in the wake of the Calley trial.

"Maybe he became too aggressive, went too far," argued Calley's civilian lawyer. "But who trained him to kill, kill, kill?" What is the responsibility of those who trained Calley and many thousands of others?

A Gallup poll of April 1-2 showed that 79 percent of those Americans polled disapproved of the Calley verdict. Why? Significantly, 71 percent said it was a crime, but others shared the responsibility for it.

Who are the others? Any comprehensive listing must include Richard Nixon, commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces and . . .Pierre Trudeau.

A U.S. senator raised the awesome logic of the Calley trial. "I'm saying that there's a serious question of going down this road unless we are willing to go all the way ... That means bringing in the commander-in-chief (president Richard Nixon)."

And the chief U.S. prosecutor in the Nuremburg trials, Telford Taylor, noted that U.S. Chief of Staff General William Westmoreland "and civilian leaders" (including Nixon?) could be convicted as war criminals if the standards established after World War II were applied to their conduct in the Vietnam war.

But how can we stop there? If Nixon and the U.S. ruling class are guilty then **Trudeau and his predecessors stand** condemned. Criminal law has long recognized complicity, aiding and abetting in a crime as crimes worthy of parallel punishment.

The evidence of Canada's complicity in American aggression in Indochina is overwhelming and spans almost 20 years.

From the very beginning government officials have provided the rationale for U.S. aggression both through public statements and through their role on the ICC. It is well known that they have spied for the U.S. in Hanoi.

Millions have been made out of the murder of the Indochinese. Canada is the greatest per capita seller of military material in the world. $500 million worth is sold primarily to the U.S. every year now, a tremendous increase since the war stepped up in 1965. Strategic resources, key to the U.S. war effort, are freely sold.

Trudeau and the government could argue that they are only "providing the lorries" at a good price. This is the crime for which Eichmann was hanged. Article III of the U.N. genocide convention states that "complicity in genocide" is a crime which shall be punished.

On Jan. 26 Trudeau held a press conference in Jakarta, Indonesia. He said that Ottawa's foreign policy differs in some important aspects from Washington's (he did not enumerate how), but for Canada to be hostile or aggressive towards its larger neighbour "would not be tolerated and it would not make sense." Is Trudeau saying, 'We are only following orders?' A similar plea at Nuremburg was not accepted absolving those involved of responsibility for war crimes.

But Canada's complicity in the war in Indochina is not unwilling but is the logical outcome of the Canadian ruling class throwing in its fate with that of U.S. imperialism. It is the logical outcome of defending the considerable foreign holdings of Canadian big business. The U.S. is the biggest defender of profits in the world and that's what the Canadian ruling class is interested in, even if it has cost one million lives in Indochina so far.

The government has committed Canada to supporting the war without ever consulting the Canadian people. And now, as evidence mounts of growing revulsion against the war, the Trudeau government is doing everything possible to keep quiet about the continuing complicity. They are on the defensive.

The growing revulsion against the war fed by the Calley trials, the rout in Laos and the growing anti-war mood among the troops and at home is making theTrudeau government's support for U.S. genocide increasingly untenable.

Those opposed to the war must go on the offensive to expose the government's role. The greater guilt which the Calley trial points to includes Trudeau, the government and big business. They are all war criminals and should all be in the dock. This is the message the antiwar movement must drive home April 24-5 and beyond. In the post-Calley trial days this will be much easier as millions of people are now recoghizing government responsibility for war crimes.

NUREMBERG — 1971

90% vote against war at SFU

VANCOUVER — Where do Canadians really stand on the war in Indochina? Trudeau has never bothered to ask our opinion before making his periodic apologies for the atrocities of U.S. imperialism.

But thanks to the initiative of the new student president elect, Young Socialist Linda Meissenheimer, and the campus antiwar committee, students at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver got the chance to vote this month.

And vote they did, with a resounding 91 percent majority for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, and 63 percent in favor of the student council giving financial aid and support to the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee in building the April 24 mobilization.

The student referendum was initiated after the outgoing student council refused a request that it donate $200 towards the April 24 antiwar action.

The council not only refused, but voted down a second motion that it organize a student vote on the question. The antiwar committee, supported by the Young Socialists, initiated its own poll the next day — and as many students voted as did in the council elections.

After Meissenheimer's election March 17 many, including the student newspaper The Peak, questioned what one socialist could do on a student council of "moderates." But Meissenheimer, a leading figure in the antiwar committee, gave the moderates a lesson in a new style of student politics — where student leaders base their actions on the mass support and participation of the students they represent.

And the vote was a lesson for us all. It showed that the support is there — not only for the antiwar program, but for the movement itself. The challenge is to move on from the April 24-25 mobilization in rallying that sentiment in action against the U.S. war.

labor Challenge

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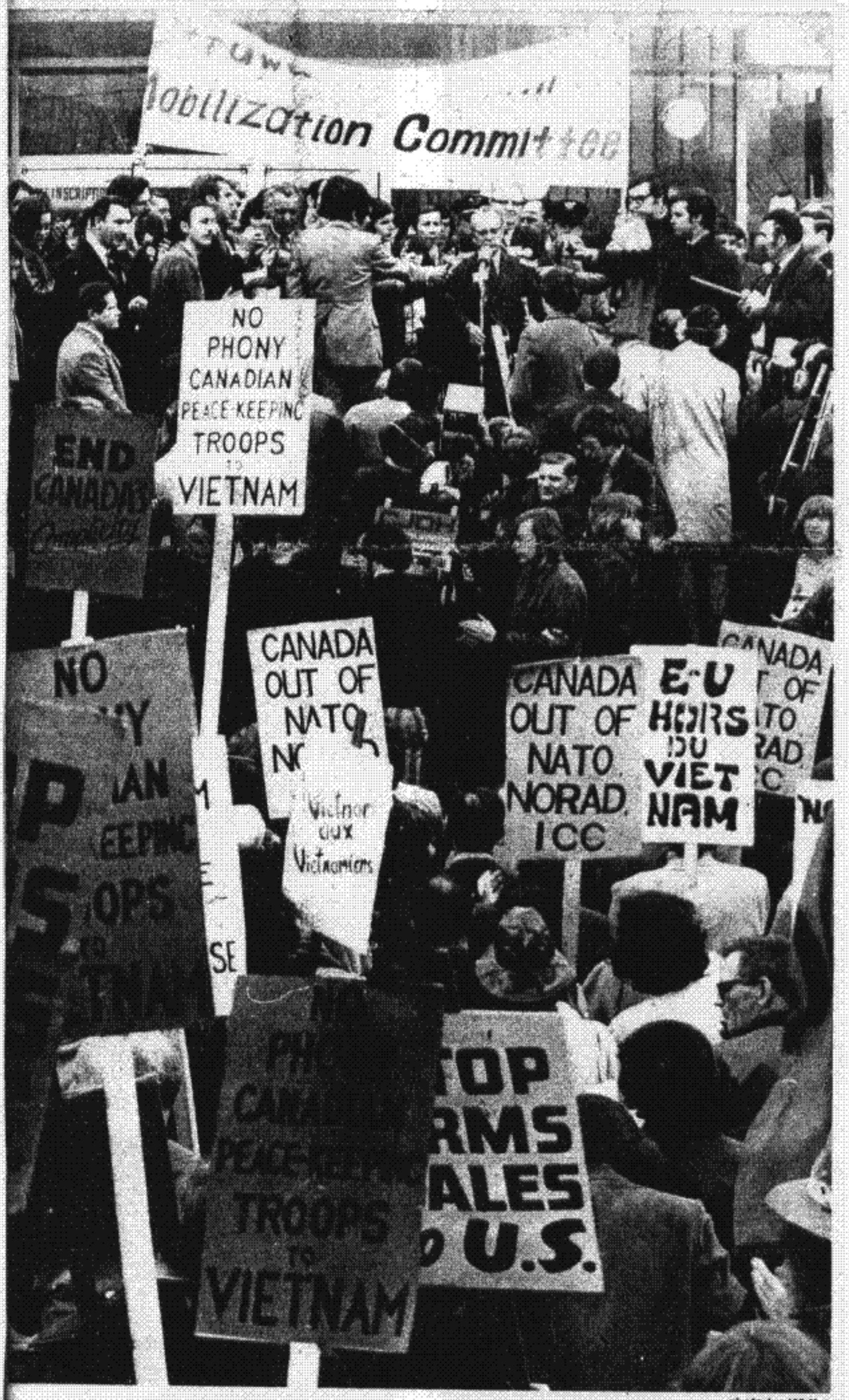

photo by White

NDP CONVENTION UNITES BEHIND ANTIWAR PROTEST. Delegates to NDP federal convention, including all five leadership candidates, attended rally of Ottawa's Vietnam Mobilization Committee April 24. They were addressed by T.C. Douglas (at mike), Robert Cliche and NDP president Donald Macdonald.

labor Challenge

#31 May 10 1971

800,000 in U.S. say 'Out Now'

In the most massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment since the May 1970 demonstrations that followed the invasion of Cambodia, hundreds of thousands of protesters marched through the streets of Washington and San Francisco April 24 to demand immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

Dozens of contingents marched — women, Blacks, Chicanos, veterans, GIs, students, trade unionists, religious organizations, gay people, professional groups and political groups — coming from every city and town in the country.

Organizers of the demonstrations say more than 500,000 marched in Washington and 300,000 in San Francisco.

These demonstrations vindicated the position of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, which had fought for mass actions for immediate withdrawal, against other tendencies which sought to derail the antiwar movement into reformist and adventurist actions and demands.

The theme of immediate withdrawal was picked up time and time again as the huge crowd roared "Out Now" repeatedly throughout the afternoon in Washington.

The depth of antiwar feeling in the population was also reflected by the action of Vietnam veterans, who demonstrated in Washington April 19-23. An obvious embarrassment to the government, which encourages Americans to support the GIs and veterans, these veterans of the war testified before congressional committees, marched in street demonstrations, and discarded their medals at a ceremony at the Capitol, dramatizing the feeling of the soldiers, who want to be brought home now.

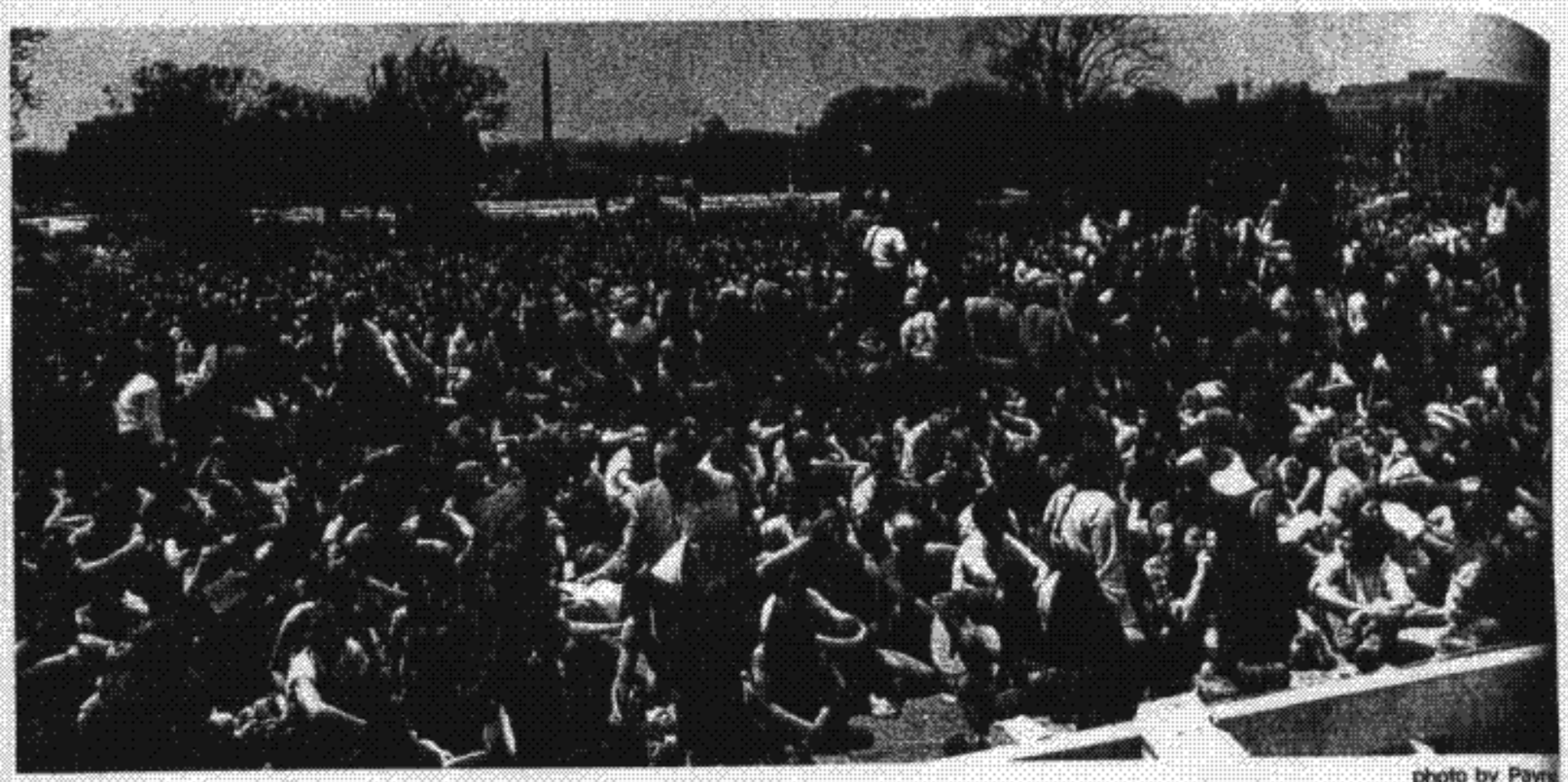

photo by Payn

A section of the crowd of 500,000 at Washington antiwar march.

The April 24 actions show clearly where the majority of Americans stand on the war issue — they want out, now. It is this movement, united in mass actions, independent of the ruling class and including ever-expanding sections of the population that can force Nixon once and for all out of Southeast Asia.

labor Challenge

#31 May 10 1971

Attack Canada's complicity

Canadians protest Nixon's War

by Carl Fleming

Almost 8,000 Canadians demonstrated April 24-25 in over 15 cities against the war in Southeast Asia and for an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

These actions marked a step forward for the antiwar movement in several important respects.

In a number of centers, including Quebec City and Sydney and Antigonish in Nova Scotia, demonstrations were held for the first time, indicating the growing consciousness against the war.

800,000 in U.S. tell Nixon: Out Now!"
page 6

For the first time in several years, Quebecois demonstrated in large numbers in Montreal. Speakers at the rally there included Michel Chartrand, Montreal CNTU president, and Fernand Daoust, secretary of the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC).

In Ottawa, the federal NDP convention voted to join the rally at the beginning of the march to Parliament Hill April 24. Hundreds of delegates heard outgoing NDP leader T.C. Douglas and former Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche address the rally.

Douglas told the Ottawa demonstration, "Canada has not been free from complicity in a war that is legally indefensible and morally inexcusable. We have continued to supply hundreds of millions of dollars worth of arms to the United States. Our government was quick to stop all arms shipments to the Middle East, and to India and Pakistan. . .but our shipments to the U.S. have continued in one of the most bloody, barbaric and unjustified wars in human history. . .The U.S. must get out, and it must get out now — no windups, no slowdowns, no gradual withdrawal, just get out and let the people of Vietnam settle their own affairs."

Antiwar committees across the country added to this opposition to Canadian arms sales, the demands for an embargo on sales of strategic resources to the U.S., and Canadian withdrawal from NATO, NORAD, and the International Control Commission.

AGAINST THE WAR, FOR RIGHT TO MARCH. Edmonton antiwar march April 24 asserted right of demonstrators to march along Jasper Ave., city's main street, despite repeated refusals by cops to grant permit. When confronted by police cordon, the 300 marchers broke into smaller groups and passed around, continuing the spirited march to final rally and speak-out. The sponsoring organization, Indochina Action Committee, has promised to fight a few summonses issued by cops in the court.

The April protest showed that U.S. imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia continues to be a key radicalizing force, bringing thousands of youth (particularly high school students) into the streets. No other issue has shown such capacity to unite the left in Canada, or to bring together broad layers of the population in anti-imperialist actions.

The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists were in the forefront of building the actions in all areas. YS leaders addressed many of the demonstrations, expressing their support for the protests.

The success of the April 24-25 actions across Canada, in bringing thousands of Canadians into the streets, opens the way for larger and broader actions against the war and Canada's complicity.

labor Challenge #32 May 24, 1971

U.S. antiwar protests

Only mass action can end the war

photo from The Militant

by Brenda Zannis

"We are the majority." This is the new conviction of the American antiwar movement, following the massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment April 24. That day, more than 800,000 Americans marched in Washington and San Francisco for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

A Louis Harris opinion poll released after the demonstrations completely discredited Nixon's illusory "silent majority" with the facts: 58 percent of Americans believe the U.S. intervention in Vietnam to be morally wrong; 60 percent favor a U.S. withdrawal even if the Saigon government collapses. And this poll was taken in March, before the impact of the April protests.

The hundreds of thousands of demonstrators who marched together around the common demand "Out Now!" were like a cross-section of the radicalization in American society. Students and workers, Blacks, Chicanos, Chicanas, Native Americans, women's liberationists, gay people, Vietnam veterans, Palestinians, revolutionary socialists — all these different layers and views marched united against the U.S. government and its agression against the Vietnamese revolution. The contingents of oppressed "minority" peoples were larger than at any previous antiwar demonstration; many were participating in the largest actions they had ever undertaken.

The trade union contingents, representing dozens of unions in far greater numbers than ever before, demonstrated the growing opposition to the war amongst organized labor and their increaded readiness to demonstrate against the government — despite the prowar views of leading sectors of the trade union bureaucracy. Together with the youthful Black, Chicano and women workers — all of whom are largely unorganized by the unions — they were an impressive indication of the scope of opposition to Nixon's war among a majority of American workers.

A new feature of these protests was the moving demonstrations by Vietnam veterans, now a large and dynamic part of the antiwar movement, in the week leading up to the April 24 mobilizations. Hundreds of veterans demonstrated their complete contempt for the war by discarding their medals at a ceremony at the Capitol. "Blood medals," they called them. A poll by the Washington Post found that 5 percent of the 500,000 participants there April 24 were Vietnam veterans.

The antiwar movement has been the greatest single radicalizing factor in American society. It has reached out to and involved millions of people, giving them a real confidence in their united power. It is the mass antiwar movement above all which has forced Nixon into a position where he cannot escalate the war further and send more troops to Southeast Asia, without fear of an explosion at home.

That movement has been build around a clear perspective of seeking to mobilize the widest number of people behind the demand which best expresses the way to end the war — immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The massive April 24 demonstrations contrasted sharply with the much smaller ultraleft confrontationist actions in the week following, organized by the "Mayday Tribe" on the theme "Close Down the Government" through disrupting Washington traffic. Far from doing anything to convincethe U.S. government to end the war, these actions, conceived right from the beginning in opposition to the mass action perspective, simply provided the administration with the pretext to carry out massive arrests. So blatantly illegal were the government's 12,000 arrests, that a superior court judge ordered the immediate release of thousands of the youth victimized by this action.

The U.S. Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, have played a key role in building the mass actions, through their participation in the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). Prominent members of the SWP and YSA spoke at the mass rallies in Washington and San Francisco. This was used by ruling class opponents of the antiwar movement to red-bait the demonstrations, particularly in the period leading up to April 24. Typical was a column by the widely syndicated journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, which claimed the demonstrations were "dominated" by "Trotskyist Communists."

But these attempts to undercut the protests fell flat. The antiwar movement is too large, too deeply rooted, to be intimidated that way. The specter of communism can no longer be used by the ruling class to whip up support in the population for its policies. The continuing mass antiwar movement has largely destroyed the cold war mentality among Americans.

The movement has not lost any steam since the April 24 marches. Many thousands of Americans — 20,000 in New York City, up to 40,000 in Boston — participated in the May 5 actions commemorating the Kent State and Jackson State students murdered last year.

The NPAC has launched a call for actions and a conference in New York July 2-4. Thousands of antiwar activists are expected to attend from across the country to discuss future plans for breadening even further this mass movement which will end the war.

labor Challenge #33 June 7 1971

'WITHDRAW N.Z. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM' demanded the massive antiwar demonstrations in New Zealand April 30. Above, part of the crowd of 5,000 who assembled in Wellington.

NZ antiwar protest biggest ever: 35,000

The largest antiwar demonstrations in the history of New Zealand took place April 30 as more than 35,000 took to the streets demanding immediate withdrawal of all New Zealand, U.S., and allied armed forces from Indochina.

The participation exceeded the most optimistic predictions of the organizers. The demonstration of July 17, last year had been the biggest held up to that date: 4,300 participated.

This April's demonstration saw important protests in every major city and many smaller towns, with the biggest march occurring in Auckland where 17,000 came out to protest the war.

While strong backing for the antiwar actions came from university and high school students, new impetus was given to the protests by women's groups and the labor movement.

In two cities, groups of women marched under their own banners for the first time. Several trade unions and prominent unionsts endorsed the mobilization against the war and several Labour MPs addressed the rallies following the marches.

A dramatic indication of the depth of antiwar sentiment in New Zealand was the action of the Seamen's Union, which held a national strike in support of the demonstrations.

Cross-Canada conference to map Fall antiwar actions

by Carl Fleming

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has called a conference and festival for the anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Aug. 7-8.

The conference on August 7 will be cross-country gathering of antiwar activists to discuss how to build the Canadian antiwar movement, and to project actions for the Fall. George Addison, executive secretary of the VMC, says he expects this conference to be the largest to date.

"The deepening of antiwar sentiment we saw on April 24-25," Addison said, "challenges us to organize massive actions this fall. We have just received a telegram from the Vietnamese delegation at the Paris talks asking us to alert Canadians to the current repression against the student and opposition movements in South Vietnam by the Thieu-Ky regime. We feel that we have a responsibility to try to bring together the broadest forces ever assembled against the war."

The conference will include discussions on how to relate the war issue to such questions as unemployment and inflation, pollution, resources, and Americanization of the universities.

The conference will be followed by a festival August 8, which will include entertainment and speakers, to commemorate the bombing of Hiroshima, and protest the continuing war against the Indochinese.

The VMC is also planning a series of meetings which will feature the new film "Interviews with Mylai Veterans," the 1970 Academy Award winning documentary. The Canadian premiere will be June 16 in Toronto, with showings of the film across Canada to follow throughout the summer months.

labor Challenge

#34 June 21, 1971

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mailbag

Trudeau fronts for Nixon in overtures to Kremlin

Toronto, Ont.

Ian Angus' column in the June Labor Challenge entitled "Back in the USSR — with Trudeau," is an interesting analysis of Trudeau's Soviet tour in terms of PET's domestic image.

But I feel that the column lacks the rounded and balanced analysis that one should expect from Labor Challenge, particularly in terms of the international impact of the tour.

The antiwar movement in Canada has repeatedly pointed out the Canadian government's supine allegiance to the policies of the U.S. State Department. The Soviet tour — despite the opinion of the Communist party, which heralded it as a blow against U.S. imperialism — is no exception.

Trudeau provides a valuable service for the U.S. Canada's recognition of mainland China last year opened the door to Nixon's recent approaches. The signing of the Canada-USSR protocol came just shortly before Nixon's announcement of a "breakthrough" in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

The main preoccupation of U.S. policy at this time is to impose a settlement of the Indochina war without suffering a military defeat. In order to achieve such a settlement, Nixon needs to convince the Chinese and Soviet governments to bring the Vietnamese into line. Nixon's overtures to China, and the progress in SALT should be seen in that light.

Nixon is using Trudeau to try to effect a political deal in Indochina that would thwart the right of the Indochinese people to self-determination. But the independent struggle of the Indochinese, and the demands of the antiwar movement for immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Indochina, make such a betrayal very difficult to bring about.

George Addison

ENVOY FOR NIXON? Soviet premier Kosygin meets Pierre and Margaret Trudeau. Was Trudeau visit to USSR aimed at sounding out Kremlin on possible deal in Indochina?

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Pentagon papers reveal:

How Canada aids U.S. genocide against Vietnam

pages 6-7

labor Challenge

#35 July 5 1971

Pentagon papers:

Canada played vital role in U.S. Viet intervention

by Lois Alderdice

The publication of articles based on a secret Pentagon study of the war in Vietnam has opened a storm of controversy around the world. The U.S. government has failed to suppress the documents, and as more revelations are made, the real facts of U.S. aggression will be out in the open for all to see.

The revelations to date are sufficient to completely discredit the network of lies and myths of the U.S. government. They also clearly show the complicity of the Canadian government in the war.

The picture presented by the Pentagon study commissioned by Secretary of Defence Robert MacNamara in 1968 is one of a war without heroes on the American side; a war that was callously escalated behind the backs of the American people.

Everything they told us was a lie.

A series of liars pass through the pages. There is Lyndon B. Johnson, president and four-star deceiver — who condemned Barry Goldwater in 1964 for wanting to escalate the war, while at the same time quietly implementing Goldwater's proposals.

Then there is Robert MacNamara, the secretary of defence, who set up the phony Tonkin Gulf incident, then lied when he denied knowing about the secret raids against the North Vietnamese in 1964.

We see Assistant-Secretary of Defense John T. McNaughton outlining on Sept. 3, 1964, how the U.S. could provoke North Vietnam into providing an excuse for the bombing: "The actions, in addition to U.S. U-2 recce reconnaissance of DRV, U.S. jet recce of Laos, T-28 activity in Laos, would be by way of an orchestration ... to provide good grounds for us to escalate."

Again we see McNaughton defining, on March 24, 1965, the American war aims:

"70 percent — to avoid a humiliating U.S. defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor).

"20 percent — To keep South Vietnam (and the adjacent) territory from Chinese hands.

"Ten percent — To permit the people of South Vietnam to enjoy a better, freer way of life ... NOT — to 'help a friend' ..."

Even the 10 percent is a fraud. The study goes on to indicate that the intention of the U.S. was to contain the colonial revolution and to maintain its own power and prestige regardless of the consequences for the people of Southeast Asia.

Washington stands exposed as the backroom power behind the Saigon and Laotian regimes: "The impelling force behind the administration's desire to step up the action ... was its recognition of the steady deterioration in the positions of the pro-U.S. governments in Laos and South Vietnam, and the corresponding weakening of the U.S. hold on both countries."

To this list of liars, deceivers and mass murderers, we must add the name of J. Blair Seaborn, a diplomat and senior civil servant in the Canadian government.

Under instructions from the government of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, Seaborn acted as a direct agent for the U.S.

Four days before the first U.S. raids on North Vietnam, a note was delivered to the Canadian embassy in Washington from the U.S. State Department: "Canadians are urgently asked to have Seaborn during Aug. 10 visit (to Hanoi) make the following points ..."

The "following points" included conveying to the North Vietnamese the U.S. version of the Tonkin Gulf incidents, and the carefully-worded threat: "That the U.S. has ways and means of measuring the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's participation in, and direction and control of the war on South Vietnam and in Laos, and will be carefully watching the DRV's response to what Mr. Seaborn is telling them."

Canada's representative in the ICC was carrying an ultimatum to Hanoi for the U.S.

Nor was that the only time Canada was to help out the U.S. war effort. In March 1965, the study reports that Seaborn provided information to the U.S. as to the success of its bombing of North Vietnam.

On Nov. 5, 1964, in a paper where Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy was proposing plans to prepare public opinion for the Bombing of North Vietnam, he wrote: "Seaborn can be revved up to go up (to Hanoi) the 15th ... if we think it wise."

Seaborn, and the Canadian government showed themselves to be about as independent as telegraph operators.

photo by White

CANADA — OUT OF ICC! Pentagon study vindicates charge by antiwar movement that Canada, through role in International Control Commission, aided and abetted U.S. aggression in Indochina right from the beginning. Task now is to step up demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and end to Canada's complicity.

And what was to be Canada's payoff for these services? Only contempt, the papers reveal. Britain, Australia and New Zealand were "thoroughly briefed on the forthcoming U.S. actions," given the "full picture." Canada was "told slightly less."

In answering questions in the House of Commons, External Affairs Minister Sharp would now have us believe that the government acted as it did in 1964-5 because it "might help bring the war to an end."

The Toronto Globe and Mail which speaks for influential sectors of the Canadian ruling class referred to Canada's role in Indochina as a "mistake."

But the lid is off now. Canada's complicity in the war is clear for all to see. And it is no mistake. The fortunes of Canadian capitalism, up and down, are tied to U.S. imperialism.

In a television interview last week, Daniel Ellsberg, the man who gave the Pentagon papers to the New York Times, said he could think of only one American hero in the entire history of the war — the war he helped plan and later documented. Ellsberg's hero is Michael Bernhardt, the U.S. army sergeant who refused to fire on civilians at Mylai.

There are no heroes in the Canadian and U.S. governments. The only heroes have been those who refused to support the war. This includes the thousands of Americans and Canadians who have demonstrated against the war and told the truth to the people.

This summer and fall will see massive numbers of people joining the ranks of the antiwar movement. Their eyes have been opened to the real nature of the war by the Pentagon papers. A powerful mass movement will be launched that can force the Canadian government to end its complicity and force the U.S. out of Southeast Asia once and for all.

labor Challenge #35 July 5 1971

'Step up antiwar actions' – VMC

The following are excerpts from a statement adopted by the June 21 meeting of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto. The statement was sent to antiwar organizations and newspapers across the country. VMC supporters confronted Prime Minister Trudeau with it in Toronto June 23. Earlier that day in Aurora, Trudeau told a member of the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam that Canada had never pretended to be "impartial" in the war.

NO MORE LIES! END CANADA'S COMPLICITY NOW!

The record is now clear and wholly consistent with the real role of Canada's governments over the past 16 years. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee has repeatedly charged Canadian governments with diplomatic and material complicity in Southeast Asia – including the Pearson and Trudeau governments. Yet each time the issue has been raised the government has lied all down the line and then under the impact of public concern subsequently been exposed. . .The record is clear, both Washington and Ottawa have been caught red-handed concealing the truth from their citizens on the vital issue of peace and war.

The Trudeau government, which has thrown over half a million people out of work in order to control the Vietnam war-inflated economy, still thinks it can maintain the fraud of its neutrality.

The Trudeau government is dead wrong on this. The Canadian antiwar movement does not intend to let it off the hook and intends to further increase its activities to mobilize the Canadian people to force Ottawa to end its blatant complicity in U.S. Southeast Asian aggression.

The American people have demonstrated last April 24 almost a million strong where they stand on the war. They want out now. They want the troops brought home now.

The Canadian people have likewise shown where they stand. They are opposed to the war and Canadian complicity. Last April 24-25 8,000 Canadians from coast to coast including the delegates to the New Democratic Party convention, demonstrated in the streets their opposition to the Trudeau government's complicity. Yet the reaction of the government is to continue with the doubletalk and lies.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee is committed to changing this situation. It is committed to mobilizing public sentiment in mass peaceful action to get Canada off the International Control Commission; to force the government to open all its files concerning its role in Indochina; to halt arms shipments and war materials to the United States; to end the complicity of Canadian universities in the U.S. war machine; to end Canadian research into chemical and biological warfare and to force a government pledge to refuse to send any Canadian so-called "peacekeeping troops" to Indochina and a government demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops — all of them — from Southeast Asia now.

To this end the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has called an Aug. 7 Hiroshima Day cross-Canada conference of antiwar activists to plan a new cross-country offensive against Canadian complicity and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee is determined to unearth and expose every facet of Canadian complicity in Vietnam. It invites Canadians from all walks of life. . .to aid in the uncovering of the facts being concealed by the Canadian government. The truth about Canada's complicity will be taken to every home, every university, every school, every church, every trade union, every factory and office.

The Aug. 7 Hiroshima Day conference will be the broadest, most representative gathering of antiwar activists yet, with the strength to build a fall offensive which can begin the process of forcing the Trudeau government to end its criminal and genocidal complicity.

Vietnam Mobilization Committee,
241 Victoria St.,
Toronto 2B, Ont. (416) 863-0494

EDITORIAL

Canada: a junior partner in imperialist aggression

Prime Minister Trudeau, speaking in the House of Commons, once labelled as "pure fantasy" the antiwar movement's charges of Canada's complicity in Vietnam.

Now, with the publication of the secret Pentagon study of the origins of U.S. intervention in Indochina, the truth is out. The "pure fantasy" turns out to be the myth of Canada's neutrality. Canadian governments, including Trudeau's, have been lying all along.

The Pentagon study, published in the New York Times, the Globe and Mail and other newspapers, shows that Canada, through J. Blair Seaborn, its commissioner on the International Control Commission has been acting as a direct, but undercover agent for the U.S. State Department. While the Liberal and Tory politicians were telling us Canada was working for "peace" in Southeast Asia, J. Blair Seaborn was delivering threats to Hanoi, with the full knowledge and approval of the government.

What the "quiet diplomacy" of the Liberal government means is clear. It means supporting and aiding U.S. aggression, but keeping it quiet.

Prime Minister Trudeau and External Affairs Minister Sharp don't want to be identified with the genocidal war. Even the Globe and Mail, representing the point of view of leading sections of the ruling class, now prefers to refer to the Seaborn activities as a "mistake." Canada's foreign policy is most vulnerable on this point because it is here that Canada's role as junior partner to U.S. imperialism is open for all to see.

Sharp and Trudeau have tried to avoid the issue. But Canadians do not like being lied to. Now the Canadian people know that the government has been speaking in their name in covering up the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

As the revelations of the Pentagon study sink into the consciousness of the Canadian people, we can expect a great rise in antiwar feeling — antiwar feeling that is directed both against U.S. imperialism and against the Canadian government.

We can expect that the demands to open the files of the External Affairs Department, to get Canada off the International Control Commission, to get Canada out of NATO and NORAD, to stop the flow of arms and resources to the U.S. war machine, will gain wide popular support.

The Aug. 7 cross-country antiwar conference called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee can bring these demands and the facts of Canada's complicity out into the open and then into the streets this fall. Mass mobilizations force the Trudeau government to end its complicity in Indochina and to demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

advertisement

The shocking story of Canada's complicity in Vietnam!

In this pamphlet, published three years ago, you will find the Pentagon's "revelations" — revealed years before the New York Times "discovered" them. Read the detailed account — not found in the Pentagon study — of how Canada lied, spied and profited on the Vietnamese, while pretending to be a "peacemaker".

available from:
Vietnam Mobilization Committee,
241 Victoria, Toronto.

"You Must Be Thrilled to Have Your Village Liberated"

Ottawa's crime against Vietnam

pages 4 - 5

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 14 (36) July 26, 1971 15 cents

How Ottawa fronted for the U.S. in Vietnam war

by Ian Angus

On Aug. 4, 1964 the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" took place. According to the official U.S. version, North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked the U.S. espionage ship Maddox. The Johnson government used the incident to justify bombing North Vietnam and to win Congressional approval of a resolution giving the President carte blanche to intervene massively in Vietnam.

That incident, the world now knows, was a fraud. The Maddox was not attacked. The most charitable version has it that a nervous Captain sent out a distress message and retracted it almost immediately. The White House had only been waiting for a plausible excuse to bomb North Vietnam, and the "Tonkin Gulf resolution" had been written out well ahead of time.

Thanks to the publication of parts of a secret Pentagon study of the Vietnam war, the world also knows the disgraceful and hypocritical role played by Canada's government in the Tonkin Gulf affair.

The United States government, of course, did not want a major war in Indochina. It wanted the Vietnamese people to give in to U.S. domination without a fight. In attempting to bring this about, it cynically used the "good offices" of Canada's member on the International Control Commission, Blair Seaborn. A special note was delivered to the Canadian embassy, instructing Seaborn in full detail on what he should say on his Aug. 13 visit to Hanoi.

"OUR MAN IN VIETNAM". Blair Seaborn delivered blackmail threats to the Vietnamese.

Detailed instructions

The detailed instructions to Seaborn, published in the New York Times on June 13, provide a rare inside glimpse of Canada's subservience to Washington's foreign policy. There are nine points in the letter. The first four direct Seaborn to parrot the official U.S. version of the Tonkin Gulf incident, and to warn the Vietnamese that the U.S. would use this incident as a pretext for intensified attacks. The remaining five instruct Seaborn on how to put the threat across:

5. "Mr. Seaborn should again stress that U.S. policy is simply that North Vietnam should contain itself....

6. "He should reiterate that the U.S. does not seek military bases in the area....

7. "He should repeat that the U.S. is fully aware....

8. "Mr. Seaborn can again refer.... He can hint at...."

And so on. This is not a normal diplomatic note. It is not, as Mitchell Sharp has tried to claim, simply a statement of U.S. policy which Canada's representatives would take into account. It is a set of point-by-point instructions.

In April 1964 U.S. secretary of state Dean Rusk had visited Canada specifically to arrange Canadian participation in the escalation of the war. In May Chester L. Cooper, a top White House advisor, was sent to Ottawa to "brief" Seaborn on his role. In June Seaborn made his first visit to Hanoi, carrying threats and vague suggestions of economic aid if the Vietnamese would consent to permanent division of their country by the U.S. When the Vietnamese refused to capitulate, the Gulf of Tonkin incident was arranged and Seaborn was sent back with a harsher message.

Seaborn made four more visits to Hanoi carrying threats from Washington. But the blatantly pro-U.S. character of his missions so angered the North Vietnamese leaders that they refused to speak to him. He was finally retired to green pastures — he is now Assistant Deputy Minister for Consumer and Corporate Affairs.

Other Canadian members of the ICC played the same role, adding to it the role of spy — informing the U.S. of the effectiveness of the bombing.

Key to Aggression

Antiwar activists pointed out that by a strange "coincidence" the U.S. always escalated the war just after a pause in the massive bombing of North Vietnam, just after widely-publicized "peace feelers" were sent out. Canadian ICC members such as Chester Ronning played a key role in these efforts to convince the Vietnamese to surrender their independence. The Pentagon Papers have proven that there was no coincidence involved. Johnson did not expect the bombing halts to bring peace. He used them only to placate domestic and international opposition. And Canada was in there helping all the way.

Just as revealing as the New York Times articles was the protest issued by Acting Prime Minister Mitchell Sharp, June 16.

Sharp protested not because the articles were not true, but because he thought they implied that Seaborn was acting on his own.

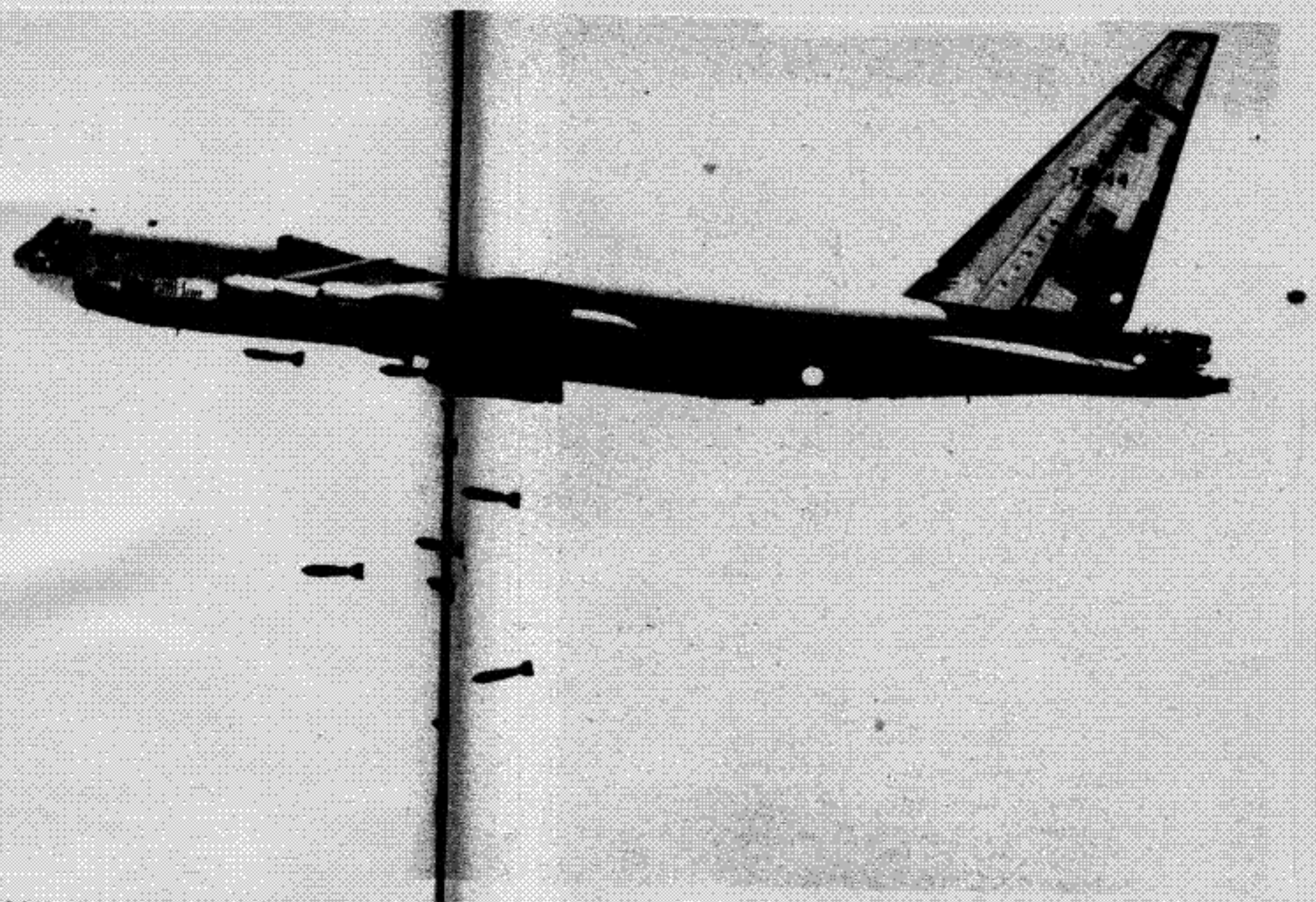
Not at all, said Sharp. The messages were sent to the Canadian government and the information was passed on to Seaborn. "The activities of Mr. Seaborn were in accordance with the Canadian policy, which was to try to end the war in Vietnam."

As a Toronto Globe and Mail editorial pointed out, "Canada's action could have helped to end the war only on a basis satisfactory to the United States."

This has, in fact, been the nature of Canada's involvement in Vietnam under four Prime Ministers. While Canada's political leaders, Liberal and Conservative, have from time to time expressed minor tactical disagreements with U.S. policy, they have never disagreed with the overall aims.

For example, even when External Affairs Minister Paul Martin and later Lester Pearson himself appealed for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, it was not from humanitarian motives. As Martin

→ p. 2



CANADA HELPED LAUNCH BOM[illegible]ent revelations show full participation of Ottawa in U.S. plot to attack North Vietnam.

p.1 ←

aw it, stopping the bombing would create "a new situation" in which "new pressures ould be brought upon North Vietnam." The Pentagon Papers and the associated evelations prove conclusively that anada was informed in 1964 of the imending U.S. escalation of the war and ook part wholeheartedly. But the story oesn't end there.

U.S. Plotted with Canada

In December 1964, Johnson and his top dvisors decided on a plan to begin regular ull-scale bombing of North Vietnam, ccording to the New York Times expose. his plan, "Operation Rolling Thunder" equired the full cooperation of the U.S.'s allied powers". The countries informed most of the details of the plan were ustralia, New Zealand, Britain and anada.

In fact Canada, which is a member of the neutral" ICC was given more inormation than the Phillipines, Taiwan or outh Korea – all of which have troops in ietnam! The bombing began in February 965 – and Blair Seaborn immediately ade another trip to Hanoi. According to itchell Sharp, Seaborn then made "a eneral statement of United States policy and objectives."

In other words he was still carrying U.S. threats.

Only a small portion of the 47-volume Pentagon study has been made public. In fact, according to Daniel Ellsberg, who turned the study over to the press, several volumes dealing with the diplomatic manoeuverings around the war were deliberately not revealed. Those volumes certainly contain much more evidence of Canada's complicity in U.S. aggression.

The Canadian people have a right to know the extent of their government's involvement. All government files relating to the Indochina war must be opened to the public. Canada must withdraw immediately from the ICC. All forms of complicity in the war must cease. And the government must speak out clearly and unequivocally for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

The recent revelations demonstrate how profoundly successive Canadian governments, both Liberal and Conservative, have been partners in U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They thus point to the need to build the most massive antiwar movement possible in this country, to win these demands.

Viet parley wins support

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee's Hiroshima Day anti-war conference is gathering unprecedented support across the country. Already the list of sponsors indicates the broadest interest ever expressed in Canada in organizing to put an end to the Vietnam war.

Among the endorsers of the conference are David Lewis, Federal Leader of the NDP, Melville Watkins, Rabbi Feinberg, Claire Culhane, several NDP MP's, unionists such as Dennis McDermott, Canadian Director of the United Auto Workers, John Steele, LSA-LSO, Joe Young, YS-LJS, Alf Dewhurst, CP and the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church.

The conference, to take place August 6 and 7 in Toronto, is open to all on the basis of one person - one vote, and invites proposals for a Canadian fall anti-war action. The VMC is urging all opponents of the war from across Canada to come and participate.

The agenda, as announced by the VMC will include a Friday evening rally and candle-light march, panel discussions on Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, a plenary session at which the proposals for the fall action will be discussed and voted upon, and an evening of workshops.

The VMC has just published a pre-conference, four-page issue of its Mobilizer with special reports on the Pentagon papers, the American anti-war conference on July 2 - 4, and a detailed exposure of Canadian complicity in the war..

VMC activists are now touring Ontario with the Academy-award-winning film "Interviews with Mylai Veterans", speaking to opponents of the war and publicizing the August 7 conference.

For more information about sponsors, the conference, the film, how to help publicize and finance the conference, and for copies and bundles of the VMC Mobilizer, contact the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria Street, Toronto, 863-0494.

labor Challenge #36 July 26, 1971

Rally projects huge U.S. anti-war actions

"The power to end the war is at hand. The time for launching a knock-out blow against Nixon's war policies is NOW. The strategy continues to be to involve gigantic masses of people in action in support of the central, unifying demand for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of U.S. military forces, warplanes, ships, and material from Southeast Asia."

With these words the broadest conference ever held of the U.S. antiwar movement voted overwhelmingly to endorse a call for a massive summer and fall "antiwar offensive."

The conference, held in New York City July 2-4, was sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, (NPAC) the group that organized the giant April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco. Over 2,300 people registered for the conference.

The fall offensive will culminate in regional demonstrations Nov. 6 in sixteen major cities. Other plans include demonstrations Aug. 6-9 (Hiroshima-Nagasaki Week), a day of solidarity with Vietnam veterans Oct. 25 and a National Peace Action Week, prior to the Nov. 6 actions.

The NPAC Conference adopted a resolution calling for united action with the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice, a group composed primarily of forces influenced by the Communist Party, of pacifists and of the ultraleft Mayday Tribe.

The only sour note at the conference occurred when a small group attempted to prevent Senator Vance Hartke and United Automobile Workers leader Victor Reuther from speaking. The group, composed of supporters of the formerly Maoist Progressive Labor Party (the U.S. equivalent of the "Canadian Party of Labor") had distributed a leaflet threatening to break up the conference. When they refused to come to order they were ushered out and the meeting continued.

NPAC Coordinator James Lafferty expressed the mood of the conference at the opening rally: "We must pledge among ourselves that together we will stay in the streets until every last United States soldier and plane has been withdrawn from Vietnam. Coming back again and again and organizing like hell in between our street actions. And when the war is finally over we will be back in the streets again — pledging to ourselves and to all humanity never, never to let it happen again."

labor Challenge #36 July 26, 1971

REVIEW

'69 pamphlet scooped Pentagon Papers

U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM AND CANADA'S COMPLICITY, by Joe Young. Published by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., Toronto. 25 cents.

The Pentagon Papers tell only a tiny part of the story about Canada's aid to U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. More of this long suppressed story, though still only a scratching of the surface has been painstakingly documented by the antiwar movement over the past seven years. Much of this material appears in this pamphlet, published two years ago by Canada's leading antiwar group.

In addition to acting as a messenger for U.S. ultimatums, Canada has acted as a spy! In 1967 Gerald Clark of the **Montreal Star** reported that Canadian ICC members were gathering intelligence for the U.S. Tim Ralph of the CBC reported that every Canadian ICC report was made in two copies — one for the Canadian government and one for the U.S. embassy. These reports often contain vital information on troop movements, morale, and so on. The Canadian government has never denied these charges.

In apologizing for the facts revealed in the Pentagon Papers, Mitchell Sharp told the House of Commons that "the North Vietnamese did not regard our activity as in any way improper or inconsistent with our ICC role." In fact, as this pamphlet points out, the main Hanoi newspaper Nhan Dan stated in 1967 that "The Canadian government has not lived up to its obligations as a member of the International Control Commission. The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and supported the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S.. .."

At the same time, Canada was making "humanitarian gestures" by sponsoring medical aid groups in South Vietnam. The 1969 pamphlet exposes what these gestures masked. They were always tied to the propaganda and military needs of the Saigon government and the Pentagon. So much so that Claire Culhane, an administrator in one of the Canadian hospitals, came away convinced that the program was "only prolonging the agony of the Vietnamese people."

To compound the hypocrisy, Canada's governments, spying in Hanoi and making a pretense of medical assistance in the South, were selling millions of dollars in arms to the U.S. The government tried to cover this up, but finally admitted the truth. Canada is committed to the U.S. war machine by a host of treaties and "understandings" which bring profits to the munitions makers and death to the Vietnamese.

Even more crucial to the U.S. war effort are Canada's raw materials, especially such essential strategic materials as nickel and oil. Trudeau admitted in 1968 that an embargo on nickel would "break the back of the U.S. war effort" — and opposed the embargo..

For years, any international prestige and respect that others may have accorded Canada has been cynically used by the warmakers in Washington and Ottawa. This pamphlet provides much of the ammunition necessary to build a mass movement able to defeat the warmakers.

—David Lynne

In this pamphlet, published three years ago, you will find the Pentagon's "revelations" — revealed years before the New York Times "discovered" them. Read the detailed account — not found in the Pentagon study — of how Canada lied, spied and profited on the Vietnamese, while pretending to be a "peacemaker".

available from:
Vietnam Mobilization Committee,
241 Victoria, Toronto.

RESULT OF OTTAWA'S VIETNAM POLICY. Canadian arms and strategic materials help slaughter the Vietnamese while Ottawa offers medical aid to the victims.

'Medical aid a facade for CIA' – Cdn nurse

mailbag

Montreal, Que.

Additional information was obtained at the recent Oslo International Commission of Enquiry into U.S. Crimes in Indochina about the methods of the CIA working with "third friendly countries" within South Vietnam. Much credence is now added to my persistent reporting that Canadian medical aid programs are only a facade for the US-AID program now admitted to be a cover for CIA activities.

Since filing my report with the Department of External Aid in April 1968, I have stressed the urgent need for a full investigation of Canada's role in Vietnam.

The recent disclosures in the Pentagon Papers reveal that Canada had once again provided the rationale for U.S. aggression in Indochina. When J. Blair Seaborn (with the complete approval of the Canadian government) carried the threatening message of escalation to Hanoi, we were in effect, guaranteeing the resulting devastation. Former president Johnson could then continue the myth that he was seeking peace through negotiations while Hanoi was rejecting same, basing these lies on Canada's collusion.

Canada has had the responsibility and the opportunity to bring this war to a grinding halt any moment that it chose to speak out the truth, which it possessed. Canada did not do so because it was committed to the role of the "Butcher's Helper."

I am enclosing this material to ten weeklies across Canada with the sincere hope that it will be used to further enlighten your readers so that they can add their demands for an immediate and public parliamentary investigation into Canada's role in Indochina.

With the predictable signing into the OAS (Organization of American States) coming up this fall, which carries no voting rights, we should understand that the future path scheduled for Canada in South America may even exceed in callousness and complicity that which we have so shamefully played in Indochina.

To expose our acts here and now would help prevent similar actions against our South American fellow human beings.

Claire Culhane
former advisor, Canadian Anti-Tuberculosis Hospital, Quang Ngai, South Vietnam

(The "enclosed material" is a copy of a brief the author presented to the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa, on July 19. In it, she comments on her experience in Vietnam, describing victims of U.S. atrocities whom she personally met. She recalls that under the Nuremburg Trials precedent, complicity in a war crime is a crime itself, going on to adduce further evidence that Canadian aid in South Vietnam is tied to the U.S. CIA spy program. She pointedly asks the government whether plans are "still going ahead to complete the nine new Canadian medical centers in An Ghiang, on the Cambodian border?" — Editor)

labor Challenge

#36 July 26 1971

Protest U.S. troops in NB

Growing numbers of Maritimers are protesting the use of Canadian facilities to train units of the U.S. National Guard.

It will be recalled that the National Guard, which serves as a reserve for the U.S. Army, murdered six students in cold blood at Kent State and Jackson, Miss. during antiwar protests last year.

Now the Canadian Forces base at Gagetown, N.B. has been opened up to 450 members of the Maine National Guard for artillery practice. According to the American officers, this exercise will be the only chance this year for the unit to use live ammunition and their 155 mm howitzers. They add that the chance of training outside the country is an inducement to recruiting.

The Provincial Council of the New Brunswick NDP, among other groups, has protested the invitation to the U.S. military, staging a march of some 50 people in Fredericton on July 17. Among the marchers were representatives of a committee set up in Halifax, which includes representatives of the Unitarians, the Voice of Women, the Waffle, and the Young Socialists.

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 15 (37) Aug. 9, 1971 15 cents

History of the antiwar movement pages 4 - 5

Conference to take up challenge of expanding antiwar movement

Toronto 1970

by The Editors

The conference of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee is a historic achievement for the antiwar movement. The first such cross-country conference, it occurs at a time when opposition to the war is reaching an all-time high and when the possibilities ofwinning its goal have never been greater.

Often in the past the government and the media have mocked at the accusations levelled by the antiwar movement. But the Pentagon Papers — official, top-secret government documents — demonstrate that every one of the accusations is true.

In particular, the papers reveal shocking details of Canada's complicity — how Ottawa has acted as a messenger and a spy for the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese.

These revelations have greatly increased people's understanding of Canada's complicity, and opposition to it. The antiwar movement stands poised for a new surge of support.

This is shown concretely by the response to the VMC confernece, a response which is unprecedented in the history of the struggle against the war. The great breadth of sponsorship of the conference, the prominence of those who will address it, and the wide geographical representation at it, are all indications of the favorable situation for the antiwar movement today.

What are the tasks of this conference?

In the past, some have challenged the democratic and mass-action character of the movement, as well as its central demands "End Canada's complicity" and "Withdraw all U.S. troops now". But the falseness of these challenges have been decisively demonstrated by the experience of the movement itself. The road forward is clear.

The task of the conference, then, is to respond to the call of the U.S. antiwar movement for massive protests on Nov. 6; to tap the enormously-increased revulsion at Trudeau's Vietnam complicity; and to find ways to involve decisive sectors of the population — labor, Quebecois, women, youth — in these protest actions, which can be a big stride forward towards our goal of building an antiwar movement powerful enough to break Ottawa from its complicity.

labor Challenge #37

4 Labor Challenge August 9, 1971

Seven years of struggle to end the war

by Carl Fleming and Joe Young

One of the most important revelations in the Pentagon Papers is the description of how the U.S. government's escalation plans were hampered at every turn by organized opposition to the war within the United States and throughout the world. Using bombing halts, "peace initiatives", negotiations in Paris and partial troop withdrawals, Washington attempted to undercut the antiwar sentiment. But through the independent actions of the antiwar movement, each new aggression was met with massive opposition.

While very much a part of the international struggle to end the war, the Canadian antiwar movement has a rich history of its own. No simple copy of the U.S. movement, for example, it has gone through many distinct upsurges, lulls, divisions and reunifications, reflecting the impact on Canada of events in Vietnam and around the world. Today antiwar protest in this country has become a mass movement, but a review of the issues which were posed in the course of the development of the movement provides many instructive lessons for antiwar activists today.

In one form or another, all the debates within the movement centered around the question of the right of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples to self-determination.

The revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere who have played a leading and initiating role in the antiwar movement maintain that self-determination for the Vietnamese means that the U.S. has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam. Thus the central demand of the antiwar movement must be the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops. This withdrawl position was opposed by the Communist Party and pacifist elements who advocated "negotiations" to end the war. Their position clearly violated the principle of self-determination, that only the Vietnamese have the right to decide their own fate.

Those arguing for the withdrawal position also held that the other main demand of the antiwar movement must be for an end to the complicity of the Canadian government. The CP and pacifists tended to advocate a Canadian peace-keeping role, or at a minimum a neutralist stance by Ottawa — such positions undermined the very raison d'etre for an antiwar movement in this country, cutting across the self-determination principle and fostering the illusion that Ottawa was either neutral in the war or could be easily won to such a position.

A related question, which has sparked continual controversy, involved the nature of the antiwar movement that had to be built — was it to be oriented to lobbying the government with friendly advice, or was it to aim to mobilize all those who opposed the war in peaceful mass action, in the streets, and in collaboration with the international antiwar movement, particularly its center inside the United States?

Today the antiwar movement is in a strong position to widen itself out qualitatively, involving broad, new, and decisive layers of the population in its actions.

But the possibilities of this new stage in the struggle can only be fully exploited if the lessons of the experiences and debates of the early antiwar movement are understood.

First Protests

1964-65 saw the first large-scale escalation of the war in Vietnam. A small number of people began organizing actions against the war. The first task was to spread the truth about the aggression. There were a number of teach-ins on university campuses across Canada, following the example of hundreds of teach-ins in the U.S. In July, 1965, a demonstration of 100 delegates to the NDP federal convention marched to the U.S. consulate in Toronto, led by M.P. Bert Herridge.

Following the NDP convention, which passed a resolution opposing the war and calling for negotiations, the Committee of Concerned New Democrats came together in Toronto, forcing the NDP leadership into action. The Ontario NDP organized a public meeting in September, publicized as a "Report from Parliament" at which the featured speaker was Deputy Leader David Lewis. Lewis defended British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's support of the U.S. war, telling the audience that 'both sides' were to blame for the conflict, and that the greatest danger to peace in Southeast Asia was China. Lewis was roundly booed at this meeting, and rank and file NDPers saw that they themselves would have to act in opposition to the war.

Antiwar committees founded

Later that same month, antiwar forces came together in Toronto and Vancouver to form independent antiwar committees. Actions were organized in Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa on the first International Days of Protest called by the U.S. protest movement.

In November, 1965, Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) was founded, uniting high school students in action against the war. SAWV carried a number

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of important actions over the years, publishing its own newspaper, organizing petition campaigns for Vietnam assemblies in the schools, and bringing thousands of high school students out to demonstrations.

In February 1966, a conference took place in Toronto, to discuss and plan future antiwar actions. Speakers at the conference were Farley Mowat; Prof. James Steele; Bert Herridge, NDP M.P.; and others. The conference launched the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, (tccewv) uniting a wide range of forces including activists from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the New Democratic Youth, the Communist Party, a few church groups, and the League for Socialist Action, among others. The TCCEWV issued a call for a march on Ottawa.

Noticeably absent was the Student Union for Peace Action, a new-left student group which by then had decided not to participate in 'single-issue campaigns'. SUPA counterposed its strategy of community organizing around a wide variety of demands, to actions directly against the war. The new lefts failed to see the central importance of the Vietnam issue, defaulting also in their responsibility to aid the Vietnamese through building a mass movement in the streets, and open to all. SUPA's refusal to participate in the antiwar movement was one of the major reasons for its collapse.

Also abstaining from the TCCEWV was the NDP leadership, although a large number of rank and file New Democrats did take part. The NDY co-sponsored with the TCCEWV the March on Ottawa, the first major antiwar action to take place in Ottawa, which occurred on March 26. 1,200 people from Toronto and Southern Ontario travelled by special train to Ottawa to participate in a demonstration of 3,000 while 5,000 demonstrated in Vancouver.

After the March 26 action, representatives from committees across Ontario and Quebec met to discuss future plans. The meeting founded the Canada Vietnam Newsletter, which became the voice of the antiwar forces demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity. The Newsletter played an important role in winning the antiwar movement to those demands. It sponsored tours, organized antiwar actions, and provided a forum for debates and discussion within the movement. It was published regularly until 1969. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee's paper, the Mobilizer, plays a similar role today.

"WOULD YOU KILL HIM TOO, MR. PEARSON?" Socialist antiwar activist John Steele confronts Prime Minister Lester Pearson with facts of Canadian complicity, while P.M. heads for swank dinner at posh Toronto hotel, in winter of 1967.

Attempts to exclude militants

By the end of the summer of 1966, a deep division had opened up within the antiwar movement. On the programmatic level, the debate was between those advocating "immediate withdrawal" and "end Canada's complicity",and the advocates of a varied list of other demands — negotiations, halting the bombing reconstitution of the Geneva conference, etc. Also in question was whether the antiwar movement should seek to achieve the broadest possible unity of all forces by concentrating its fight totally against the war, or whether it should disperse its effectiveness by taking up other questions as well.

The debate was far from academic. The pro-negotiations forces, with the Communist Party and the pacifists at its core, succeeded temporarily in expelling the militant forces from the coordinating committees in Vancouver and Toronto. Unable to carry their position in honest, open debate, they resorted to arbitrary expulsions, which set back the struggle.

But the student and membership committees, which had been founded on the withdrawal demand, and were open to all, soon became the main antiwar force.

In November 1966 cross-country student actions demanded immediate withdrawal and an end to Canada's complicity. The expulsions had failed to stop the militant wing of the movement, which was readmitted back into the TCCEWV at a December conference.

In March of 1967, a cross-country student conference was held in Toronto, open to all students opposed to the war. All decisions were made on a one person, one vote basis. The conference established a anew cross-Canada antiwar organization, the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (SAEWV). SAEWV was committed to the mass action — withdrawal — complicity program.

Accompanying the SAEWV conference was an "Assembly to tell the truth about Vietnam", addressed by Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Toronto doctor just returned from North Vietnam where he had spent six weeks investigating U.S. war crimes for the Bertrand Russel International War Crimes Tribunal.

Canadian supporters of the Tribunal established a Canadian Committee for the War Crimes Tribunal.

Cross-country demonstrations occurred again on April 15, 1967. Ontario activists rented buses to go to the action of 500,000 in New York. On July 1, demonstrators from across Canada met in Montreal to "Take Vietnam to Expo". The NDP leadership and the Communist Party did not participate in the protest, because Quebec nationalists were marching under their own banners, calling for a free Vietnam and a free Quebec.

Exclusionism again became a major issue in the movement. At the Oct. 15 mobilization, involving 6,000 people in Toronto, TCCEWV organizers refused to allow Joe Young, chairman of the SAEWV, to address the rally. This incident climaxed a series of battles against the exclusionist policy of the TCCEWV leaders, a policy which led to its collapse.

The deepening of antiwar sentiment stood as a backdrop to this internal struggle. Mass sentiment which had brought out the huge crowd in Toronto was most evident in the Ottawa action where NDP Leader T.C. Douglas addressed a demonstration on Parliament Hill in defiance of a government ban on such marches.

Picks up Steam

With U.S. imperialism steadily expanding the war, and with Canada's diplomatic and military complicity being brought more and more into public view, the antiwar movement began to pick up steam.

A conference in Toronto in March 1968 established the Spring Mobilization

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Committee, later to become the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The conference had been preceded by months of sustained antiwar activity. In December the second SAEWV conference had launched a campaign against the warmakers on campus. There were actions on many campuses against the presence of recruiters from war industries.

The SMC and SAEWV organized a demonstration against the ruling Liberal Party at its leadership convention in Ottawa April 6, demanding that the newly-elected leader — Trudeau — end Canada's complicity. 1500 demonstrated.

A number of forces refused to support the action, raising a new dispute. This was not unexpected, for the ability of the Canadian antiwar forces to build a movement which was directed not only against the war, but also against the government's complicity, was crucial. The slogan "end Canada's complicity" was attacked from both the right and the left. On the right, the Communist Party, the pacifists and others accepted Trudeau's claims that the Canadian government could help bring peace to Vietnam, through international peacekeeping, a concept also then current among the reformist leadership of the NDP. On the left, the ultra-lefts, largely influenced by the Maoists, maintained that Canadian complicity was irrelevant. U.S. imperialism was the issue and the main enemy.

Both positions let the Canadian ruling class — which has continued to serve U.S. imperialism in its attempt to halt the Vietnamese revolution — off the hook.

During the following April 25 country-wide demonstrations, the ultra-left forces counterposed demands like "Victory to the NLF" and "Smash U.S. imperialism" to the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Whereas the negotiations position still carried by elements in the antiwar movement would have violated the rights of the Vietnamese, the ultraleft position put forward by groups like "Canadians for the National Liberation Front," would have been equally disastrous, destroying the ability of the antiwar movement to mobilize Canadians in mass action in support of the Vietnamese struggle.

Neither the reformist nor the ultraleft positions succeeded in deflecting the antiwar movement from its principled course. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee initiated a cross-Canada intervention by the antiwar movement in the 1968 Federal elections, calling on Canadians to "Vote Against the War Parties". An October 26, 1968 demonstration organized by the VMC carried a hard-fought campaign for the right to march down Yonge Street in the face of a brutal police attack which resulted in the arrest of antiwar activists.

Lines Tested in Action

The success of the VMC with its non-exclusionist, mass action perspective around the 'immediate withdrawal' and 'end Canada's Complicity' demands meant that the debts were being settled in life, through the experience of the movement. In early 1969 those who previously held the negotiations positions re-entered the VMC which they had previously walked out of. The 10,000-strong demonstration in Toronto was the largest in the history of the antiwar movement.

In Vancouver, a similar test over line took place, this time between the ultra-left wing and the rest of the antiwar movement. The single-issue mass action perspective of the Vietnam Action Committee drew 3,000 persons while the ultra-left action billed as 'explicitly' anti-imperialist drew 400.

In the months following these demonstrations, the antiwar movement has succeeded in expanding into new areas across the country, reflecting the upsurge of antiwar sentiment throughout North America. In the Nov. 14-15 actions, 20 Canadian cities and towns were involved.

The antiwar movement zeroed in powerfully on the issue of Canadian complicity. On April 18, 1970, 2,000 demonstrators presented a brief to the Canadian government spelling out exactly what Canadian complicity meant. Trudeau refused to hear the brief. The rally was addressed by David Lewis, as an official representative of the NDP caucus. This time he demanded immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canada's complicity. Lewis' statement represented an important victory for the antiwar forces which had fought for years for NDP participation in the antiwar movement.

The response to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia was a strong indication of the growing roots of the antiwar movement. For example on May 9th in Toronto, 10,000 demonstrated at the U.S. consulate.

The invocation of the War Measures act by Trudeau on Oct. 16, 1970, in the middle of preparations for the October 30-31 mobilization was an important test for the antiwar movement. The VMC called for repeal of the War Measures Act. Despite the repressive atmosphere which reduced the size of the demonstrations, they were held across the country, sharply reasserting Canadians' basic rights to gather and to demonstrate.

During the last mobilization April 24-25, a sharp rise in antiwar sentiment reflected in the 800,000 that marched in the United States, along with the diminishing impact of the War Measures and Public Order Acts resulted in 8,000 demonstrating in 15 cities across Canada. The NDP Federal convention adjourned to join the Ottawa section of the mobilization.

At this date, after years of struggle against the war, and with important struggles yet ahead, the Canadian antiwar movement has become part of the political fabric of the country. The principled demands of the movement — that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now, and that Ottawa's complicity be ended, are part of the policy of Canada's labor party, the NDP. The two-million strong Canadian Labor Congress has spoken out against the war. Through committees across the country the antiwar message can be brought to every university and high school, office and factory. Trudeau hardly goes anywhere in Canada without being confronted by the antiwar movement with his government's crimes in Vietnam.

The Aug. 6 cross-country antiwar conference reflects this achievement — the first such Canada-wide antiwar conference. The revelations of the Pentagon Papers which show the Canadian government's conscious and premeditated role supporting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, underline both the possibilities and the task ahead for the antiwar movement.

The perspective was summed up by the VMC in a recent statement on the revelations.

It declared that the VMC "is committed to mobilizing public sentiment in mass peaceful action to get Canada off the International Control Commission; to force the government to open all its files concerning its role in Indochina; to halt arms shipments and war materials to the United States; to end the complicity of Canadian universities in the U.S. war machine; to end Canadian research into chemical and biological warfare and to force a government pledge to refuse to send any so-called "peace-keeping" troops to Indochina and a government demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops — all of them — from South East Asia now."

The organization of mass actions this fall when the U.S. antiwar movement takes to the streets again around this program is the task of antiwar activists. It will mean that the broad response reflected in the sponsorship of the Aug. 6-7 antiwar conference will be translated into a mobilization which can deepen the process of forcing the Canadian ruling class to end its support for U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

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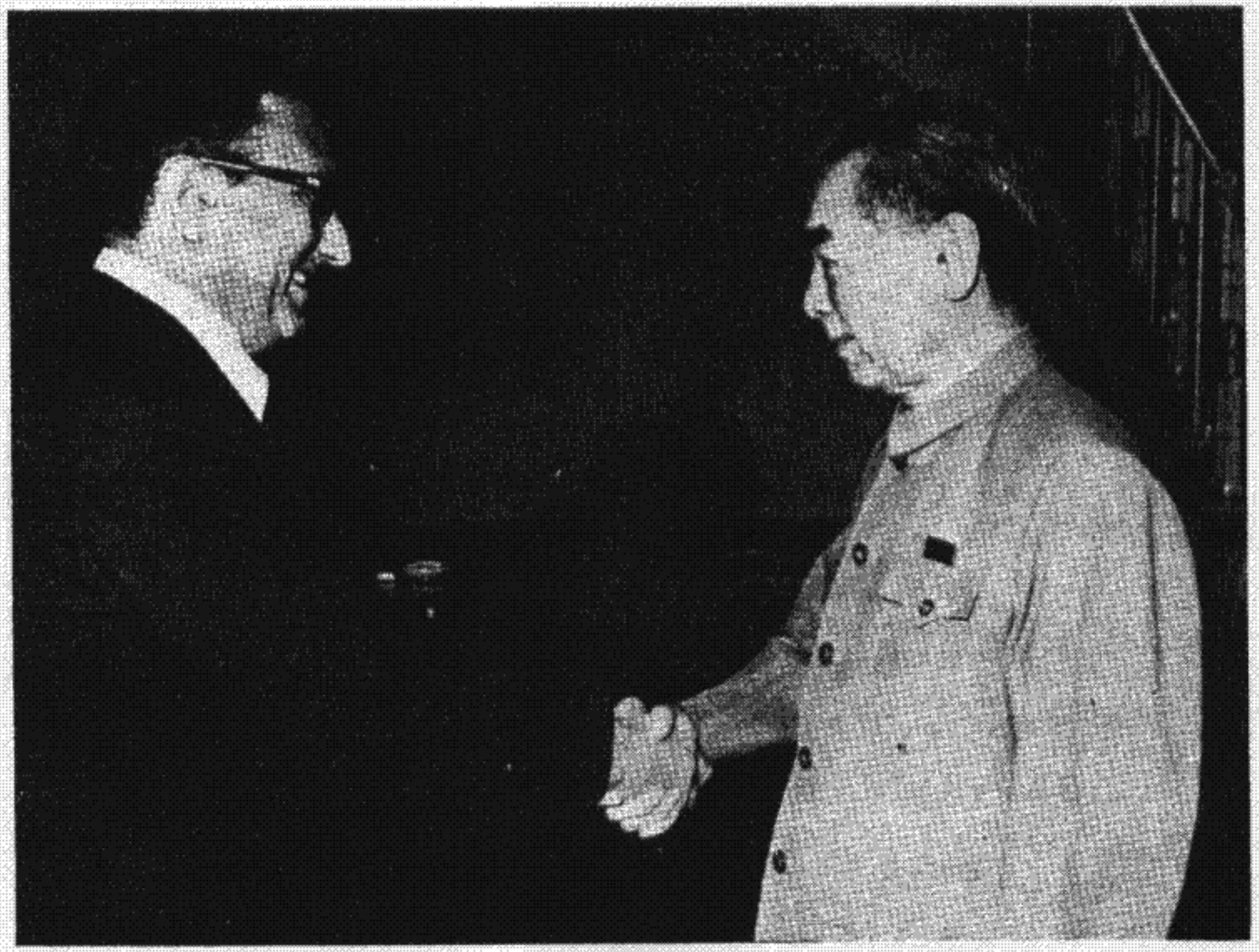

WHAT WERE THE SECRET DEALS MADE IN PEKING? Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's envoy, shakes hands with Premier Chou En-Lai at end of their top-secret talks. Vietnamese have expressed fear that Nixon-Mao talks aim to make a deal at expense of Indochinese liberation struggle.

Mass antiwar protests set for Nov. 6

labor Challenge

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U.S. out now, end complicity are themes

by Carl Fleming

The first cross-Canada antiwar conference, meeting in Toronto Aug. 7, called for mass actions across the country this fall for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina and an end to Canada's complicity in the war. A series of actions will culminate in mass regional demonstrations in every province on Nov. 6, the day of projected massive antiwar protests in the United States.

The conference also laid plans for an "Assembly of Canadians" on Oct. 13, in solidarity with the U.S. Moratorium, which will see prominent Canadians and representatives from organizations across Canada assembling on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to present demands to the government. Assemblies and protest meetings will take place on university campuses and in high schools across Canada on the Student Day of Protest Nov. 3.

The 176 people who attended the conference came from 23 Canadian cities, representing 41 organizations, among them 12 local antiwar coalitions. There was representation from antiwar, religious, student, women's, labor and political organizations.

A rally in city hall square on the evening prior to the conference featured speeches by George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Claire Culhane, a former hospital administrator in Vietnam and a representative of the Comité Québécois Contre la Guerre en Indochine, Hilda Thomas from the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee, Stephanie Coontz from the National Peace Action Coalition in the U.S., and Dr. E.E. Long, secretary of the General Council of the United Church of Canada.

Following the rally on Friday night, 200 people marched with torches, banners and placards to the U.S. consulate, where a copy of the U.S. instructions to Canada's representative on the International Control Commission was symbolically "returned" to the U.S. government.

The complicity of the Canadian government in the war was a major theme of the conference. The opening panel discussion included Joe Young, author of the pamphlet "U.S. Aggression in Vietnam and Canada's Complicity" and executive secretary of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Phyllis Clarke of the Communist party, Abie Weisfeld, a student activist at the University of

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Waterloo, and Claire Culhane.

Culhane told of her experiences with Canadian Medical Aid in Vietnam. She accused the Canadian government of using taxpayers' money to help shore up the Saigon dictatorship, with little aid going to the Vietnamese people. She reported that the hospital she administered in 1967 now is used only as a vaccination center, with most of its beds being empty.

Culhane pointed out that there is a law on the books in Canada, the "Foreign Enlistment Act," which prohibits Canadians from serving in foreign wars in which Canada does not participate. Passed in the 1930s to prevent Canadians serving with the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War, this law has never been enforced against Canadians who have served in the U.S. army in Indochina. "I look forward to the day when Canadian boys who served in the U.S. army in Vietnam will come to Ottawa to throw their medals on the lawn of Parliament," Culhane stated.

Joe Young outlined the extent of Canada's complicity in the war, in terms of the government's role on the International Control Commission, as revealed by the Pentagon papers and in a series of revelations publicized by the Canadian antiwar movement. Young called for Canadian withdrawal from the ICC, NATO and NORAD.

The action proposal, adopted almost unanimously by the conference, declared: "The Canadian antiwar movement is united around the two main demands: 'Immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia' and 'End Canada's Complicity'."

The action proposal goes on to outline a number of demands to the Canadian government, around which the fall actions will be built:

" — Issue a statement condemning U.S. aggression, and demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

" — Tell the truth about Canada's role in Vietnam. Open the files of the External Affairs Department and the Canadian International Development Agency.

" — Withdraw now from the International Control Commission and urge its dissolution. Withdraw from all military alliances with the U.S., including NATO and NORAD.

" — Declare an embargo on shipments of arms and strategic resources to the U.S. End all research for the U.S. military. Terminate the Defense Production Sharing Agreements."

Some participants in the conference, mainly those elements around the Communist party, argued that the movement could best be built by orienting to the seven-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. They said the antiwar movement should call on Nixon and Trudeau to endorse the PRG proposal to set the date for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

The conference, while recognizing the value of the PRG proposal as a basis for negotiations rejected "set the date" as a demand for the antiwar movement. George Addison pointed out that a call for setting the date would implicitly justify a U.S. presence in Indochina for a period of time, and thus cut across the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

The conference denounced the Canadian government's refusal to admit two representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, who were to address the conference. The Department of Immigration delayed visas for Huynh Van Ba and Hon Ca until a date after the conference. Delegates strongly protested this action in a telegram to the government.

The conference adopted a series of other motions. The delegates protested the bloodbath carried out by Yahya Khan's military government against the people of

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Project antiwar action program

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Bangla Desh, and defended the right of the Bengali people to self-determination. Another resolution protested the U.S. nuclear test scheduled to take place at Amchitka Island near the B.C. coast this fall. As well, the conference demanded "immediate reasonable bail" for imprisoned Black militant Angela Davis, and freedom for all political prisoners.

Workshops held after the adoption of the action proposal dealt with how to expand the antiwar movement into various areas —among students, women and in the labor movement.

The nucleus of a labor committee centered in Toronto was formed to bring trade unionists out to antiwar actions, and to fight for antiwar positions within Canadian trade unions, labor councils and federations.

The women's workshop agreed to build women's contingents in the fall actions, linking women's oppression to the war.

The student workshop laid plans for referenda on the war on as many campuses and high schools as possible, leading up to the mass student actions on Nov. 3.

A highlight of the conference was a report on the U.S. antiwar movement by Stephanie Coontz of the National Peace Action Coalition which organized the massive April 24 protests of 800,000 Americans. Coontz outlined the impact and the importance of the antiwar movement in American politics, and its determination to continue the struggle for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The Aug. 7 conference stabilized the cross-Canada antiwar movement, uniting it around the two principled demands of immediate withdrawal and ending Canada's complicity. It opened the door for the broadening of the movement to new forces, laying the basis for mass actions of unparalled scope this fall.

Photo by MacInnis

ANTIWAR CONFERENCE IN SESSION. Claire Culhane, antiwar activist and former hospital administrator in Vietnam, addresses VMC conference which projected a series of antiwar actions this fall.

EDITORIAL

Labor must join in

by The Editors

The Cross-Canada Antiwar Conference held in Toronto Aug. 7 consolidated the antiwar coalition that has been built up over the last six years since the first major escalation of the vicious U.S. bombing assault on the Vietnamese.

The antiwar movement is now firmly established from coast to coast; its program is clearly defined around the key principled demands of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canada's complicity; and the actions projected for this fall are geared to deepening the influence and impact of the movement among key sectors of the population — labor, women, students and Québécois.

The antiwar actions this fall, both here and internationally, may well be the biggest yet. The evidence is overwhelming that Nixon, whatever his pretensions, is not winding down the war, and may even be preparing another escalation. At the same time, antiwar consciousness has been bolstered by publication of the Pentagon papers.

But the conference also confirmed that much remains to be done. Many of the key forces which the movement must reach out to — in particular, the NDP and labor movement — are still only peripherally involved.

NDP federal leader David Lewis sent a telegram of greetings to the conference, but NDP and trade union participation did not go much beyond that.

Individual NDP spokesmen have on occasion spoken out firmly against the war, both as speakers at antiwar rallies and in parliament. But the NDP's identification as a party with the antiwar movement has remained essentially tokenist, a gesture to appease demands that it become involved and even take the leadership of the movement. If it had been left to the NDP and Canadian Labor Congress leadership, there would be no antiwar movement in this country.

Why their reluctance to come to grips with this issue? The lesson of U.S. imperialism's assault on the Indochinese revolution challenges every premise of the official foreign policy of the NDP and CLC, with their cold war assumptions that Washington stood for "democracy" and "peace" against the workers states. It is largely due to Vietnam that the NDP has come to call for Canada's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The left wing of the NDP which does have a consistent anti-imperialist analysis, has a special responsibility to mobilize the party behind the antiwar movement. In fact, the antiwar movement has played a key role in sparking and developing the radical anti-imperialist consciousness which gave birth to the Waffle movement. Can the Waffle speak of the necessity to involve the NDP in extraparliamentary activity — yet stand aloof from the leading extraparliamentary movement of mass anti-imperialist action in this country?

The challenge in the next period is to win the ranks of the NDP and through them the powerful forces of organized labor behind the antiwar movement, to build a mass movement that can force Trudeau to end his government's political, economic and diplomatic complicity in the war.

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#39 Sept. 13 1971

Your protests inspire us, Vietnamese tell Canadians

A delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam was featured at a meeting sponsored by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee Aug. 17 in Toronto.

Huyn Van Ba, spokesman for the South Vietnamese people's committee for solidarity with the people of North America, told of the Vietnamese struggle to force U.S. forces out of their country, and called on Canadians to continue their campaign to defend the Vietnamese right to self determination.

George Addison, executive secretary of the VMC, welcomed the Vietnamese and outlined the Canadian antiwar movement's plans for the fall campaign against the war, to culminate in mass demonstrations Nov. 6.

Van Ba reported on the growing support for the revolutionary forces in Vietnam and the reaction of the U.S. government to the seven point peace proposal of the PRG. When asked from the floor about the projected Nixon-Mao talks, Van Ba emphasized that the Vietnamese alone would decide their future, after the U.S. was out of Vietnam.

Van Ba ended his speech with a powerful expression of solidarity with the antiwar movement of North America. He said that the Vietnamese see their struggle taking place on three fronts: the military front in Southeast Asia, the diplomatic struggle in Paris, and the political struggle, for the most part being waged against U.S. aggression by the worldwide antiwar movement. Van Ba declared that the powerful antiwar movements in the U.S. and Canada have been essential ingredients to the victories of the Vietnamese people over the U.S. on the battlefields. He also took note of the struggle of the Canadian antiwar movement against the complicity of the Canadian government and big business, particularly against the export of Canadian resources to aid the U.S. war effort.

Photo by MacInnis

PRAISES ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Huyn Van Ba of Vietnam's PRG speaks to Toronto meeting. With him is Hon Ca and George Addison of Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

The 130 people attending the meeting gave the Vietnamese delegation a standing ovation.

The ugly reality of Trudeau's defense policy

PEACEKEEPING' ABROAD. Canadian troops in Jamaica.

'PEACEKEEPING' AT HOME. Troops in the streets of Montreal.

labor Challenge
#39 Sept. 13 1971

by Dick Fidler

Arms merchant to the Pentagon, diplomatic water-boy to the State Department, agent of counter-revolution around the world — and now, primed for repression on the home front — that's the sordid image of Canada's military policy that emerges from Trudeau's white paper on defense.

The government's policy statement yields nothing at all to the growing number of Canadians who, recoiling in horror from Canada's complicity in the brutal U.S. assault on the Vietnamese, have come to question this country's entire relationship with Wall Street and Washington.

Canada is to remain in the NATO and NORAD alliances; its troops in Europe are to be maintained at the present level of 5,000.

At last count, Canada maintained troop contingents in 29 countries around the world — including the International Control Commission forces in Indochina, which have spied and lied for Washington since 1954. Ottawa calls it "peacekeeping" — but the peoples of the Congo, Korea, the Middle East, Cyprus, as well as Kashmir, India and Pakistan, etc., where Canadian troops have served to repress the national liberation movements, could testify otherwise. Canada will continue to train troops of reactionary neocolonial regimes like Ghana, Tanzania and Malaysia.

The arms sales backed by Ottawa's hefty production subsidies and market research, will continue — almost a million dollars worth a day to the United States throughout the Vietnam war. Canada will continue to be the biggest seller per capita of war materiel in the world.

Canada will continue research in chemical and bacteriological warfare at Suffield, Alta. where it maintains one of the biggest germ-warfare testing and research centers in the world. Suffield is where the dreadful nerve gas CS-2 and the destructive defoliant 2,4,5-T were tested before being used in Vietnam.

And despite continuing inflation, the government has lifted the freeze on military spending which had been pegged at 1.8 billion dollars a year.

True, the two squadrons of nuclear-armed Bomarc missiles in northern Ontario and Quebec are to be scrapped; they "have become," we are now told, "highly vulnerable to missile attack." But that's hardly news. Before the Bomarcs were armed, back in 1963, we were told by the U.S. Defense secretary that they had no military value other than "to draw enemy fire in the event of war."

Nor is Canada by any means abandoning its nuclear armament. The 48 CF-101 Voodoo interceptor aircraft based at Chatham, N.B., Bagotville, Que., and Comox, B.C. will continue to carry nuclear air-to-air rockets.

What is new in Trudeau's policy, we're told, is an emphasis from now on on "continental defense." If anything, this means a subservience to the U.S. military that is virtually unconditional — spelled out in terms "so unstinting," according to foreign affairs analyst James Eayrs, "that they might have been drafted in the Pentagon."

U.S. B-52 bombers of the Strategic Air Command may continue their flights over Canadian territory, where they have practiced saturation bombing tactics for use in Vietnam. They may not be armed with nuclear weapons — "but in any crisis," the white paper volunteers, "the government is prepared to negotiate other rights to U.S. forces."

The white paper drops the government's previous pretense that it was concerned about possible dangers from the giant U.S. ABM system, the anti-ballistic missiles deployed close to the Canadian border. It even goes out of its way to defend the ABM from the many criticisms levelled against it — and in the process undermines any protest against the Amchitka nuclear blasts this fall, which **are** designed to test the warheads of the ABM's Spartan missiles.

Referring to the ABM, Defense Minister Macdonald intones "The United States has elected to proceed on their own and we're quite happy to let them." Indeed, the entire white paper is permeated with this fatuous fatalism. Even the prospect of a nuclear war is brushed off with the gruesome understatement: "We must plan on the basis that we shall inevitably be gravely affected." Shades of Strangelove!

The increased attention to Arctic maneuvers, far from enforcing Canadian sovereignty as the white paper alleges, will no doubt increase the number and extent of joint U.S.-Canadian exercises in the North. A recent issue of the Montreal magazine Last Post reveals how such exercises in Arctic mountain ranges are already being used to study the logistics of Himalayan mountain warfare, for use in an eventual U.S. invasion of China.

"Continental defense" also means increasing use of the armed forces in domestic peacekeeping — as in the 1969 Montreal police strike, the October 1970 War Measures crisis, and the Kingston Penitentiary riot last April. The white paper ominously projects more such incidents.

The whole package is argued for in a cynical realpolitik that does not question a single one of the cold war assumptions underlying Canada's military and foreign policy since the Second World War. Acknowledge that Canada's close alliance with the Pentagon is now discredited among many Canadians? Not on your life! Instead, we have the spectacle of a government policy statement arguing that membership in NATO will serve as a positive influence in trade negotiations with Common Market nations! For Canada's rulers, it seems, political and economic bargaining power flows from the military porkbarrel.

What is surprising about all this, however, is that New Democratic party military spokesman Andrew Brewin, MP, could greet the white paper as "realistic." Brewin underwrote the government's reasoning with his statement that the role of the military is to back the cops in repressing internal disorder, "protecting Canadian sovereignty," and "peacekeeping." Does Brewin wear the same pro-U.S. blinkers as Trudeau?

New Democrats who have assimilated the obvious lesson of Vietnam must call Brewin to order and campaign within the NDP and throughout the country for an end to Canada's military complicity with Washington. To counter Trudeau's craven subservience to Nixon, the NDP must elaborate a socialist foreign policy, based on the principles of aid and trade with the workers states, and all-out support to peoples struggling for national independence and socialism. We must demand an end to all Canada's present commitments to U.S. imperialism, and immediate disbanding of this country's military apparatus. It is nothing more than a force for reaction and repression.

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Why we keep protesting the war

The following are major excerpts from the speech of Evelyn Kirsch at the Sept. 24 Toronto rally of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. Kirsch is a staff worker for the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition, the leading antiwar group, which is organizing the Vietnam protests in the United States.

One of the most disturbing things about the war in Vietnam, in my opinion, is the way we've gotten used to it. Even those of us who oppose it. We can say a million and a half Indochinese have been killed and we don't even stumble over the words. We read the testimony about My Lai and we simply grimace and turn away. War news which would have caused screaming headlines five years ago gets a paragraph or two on page ten. We've heard it all before anyway. Sometimes it seems that we have almost lost our capacity for outrage.

Of course, in one way, that's simply self protection. If we were to be outraged by every lie, every atrocity, every betrayal, we wouldn't be able to function. Just to be able to oppose the war we have to control our anger, we have to be able to handle our feelings. But sometimes, when people start to tell us that the war is almost over, or that the war is a dead issue, when people start to look around for something new and different, it's pretty important for us to step back and look at the record. And the record is pretty grim.

A lot of people were shocked when one right wing general suggested that Vietnam be bombed back to the Stone Age. But what else is being done there? Twenty percent of Vietnam, five million acres, has been defoliated. Enough rice has been destroyed to feed 600,000 people for one year. And the defoliation continues, using chemicals like 245T — which Nixon has banned from use in the United States but which he considers all right for Vietnam. Chemicals which have been known for the last four years to produce birth defects in test animals at a 100 percent rate.

Vietnam is now undergoing the heaviest saturation bombing in the history of the war. More than twice the total tonnage dropped in all of World War II has been dropped on South Vietnam, an area the size of Southern California. The conscious object of all this is to create a nation of refugees.

There are now five million refugees in Indochina. Saigon, built to hold a population of 300,000, now holds four million people. These people are forced to huddle together in shelters, in alleys, even in graveyards and mausoleums from which the bodies have been removed to make room. The lucky ones live in refugee camps where the average number of people in a shelter is 13 and the average shelter measures nine by 15 feet. The vast majority have no running water, no toilets, no electricity — while the air conditioners of the Americans consume over 30 percent of the nation's electricity.

Nixon's escalation

And what has Nixon done to change this? Not one single thing. Over 14,000 GIs have been killed since Nixon began to put his "secret peace plan" into effect, and there are still over 230,000 GIs in Vietnam today. The war is more intense than ever, and it is expanding. Last year there were seven announced raids on North Vietnam. This year there have been 60. And each of these, of course, has included hundreds of individual strikes.

Far from winding down the war, Nixon has extended it into Laos and Cambodia. The U.S. now normally launches 300-400 strikes a day against Laos. The war in Laos is now a $490 million a year operation that includes a 30,000 man army run by the CIA. Just last spring the Senate learned that there had been at least 1,000 unreported deaths in Laos of U.S. personnel.

The war is far from over. Nixon's aims are the same as Johnson's, the same as Kennedy's, the same as Eisenhower's. The U.S. is after the same things it was after when it began financing 80 percent of the French colonial effort in Vietnam. And rather than give up those aims, Nixon has extended the war, instituted a criminal policy of saturation bombing in South Vietnam, and, to all intents and purposes, resumed the bombing of North Vietnam.

Why? Some people say it's because the antiwar movement has failed. But that's not the case. The administration knows our power, perhaps better than we do. Johnson certainly knew our power. He didn't stop the bombing of North Vietnam because his conscience hurt him. He stopped because he was afraid of what the American people might do if he didn't stop. Washington didn't rule out invading North Vietnam because it believed in containing the war; it knew the antiwar movement wouldn't stand for it. And Johnson isn't back on the farm because Lady Bird wanted him to take a rest. He's out of the

→ p. 2

Tired of marching?

What if THEY were?

Demonstrate Nov. 6

←p. 1

White House because the antiwar movement wanted him to take a walk. Nixon knows that we can do the same thing to him.

We have severely limited Washington's options. But why then isn't the war over?

The reason is that there is a hell of a lot at stake there. We have to understand that getting out of Vietnam is the last resort for the U.S. government; as we increase the pressure, they're going to twist and turn and try to wriggle out in any way they can.

You see, the war in Vietnam was not an honest mistake. It wasn't even a dishonest mistake. Look at the consistent, bipartisan policy of aggression in Vietnam, which began with the U.S. financing the French colonial war and has continued with the complete taking over of the battle.

There are millions of dollars at stake in Vietnam. As Dean Rusk put it, Vietnam is the hub of Southeast Asia, from which "huge storehouses of wealth can be subverted or undermined." But that's not all that's at stake. If the Vietnamese kick the U.S. out, other little countries might get the same idea. In Latin America, where the U.S. takes out three times as much money as it puts in, a few upstarts might get the idea that not only would they be better off without the U.S., but that if the Vietnamese could do it, so could they. So our policy makers are quite right when they claim that more is at stake in Vietnam than just the immediate investments. What is at stake was defined as early as 1945 by the then Secretary of State Byrnes: "What we must do now is not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make the world safe for the United States."

With so much at stake, the U.S. isn't about to pull out of Vietnam until it is absolutely clear that no other choice is open to it. The antiwar movement is cutting off the other choices, bearing down more and more heavily.

Nixon is in a bind. What he is doing now is stalling for time. That's all Nixon's secret plans have ever amounted to. That's all Vietnamization is — a stall, a last gamble, the desperate hope that the administration can get out from under the antiwar movement with promises and lies, the faint hope that the antiwar movement can be tricked into taking the pressure off.

For us to let up on the pressure now would be to give Nixon just the out he's looking for. That's why we're not going to get bored and try something else or shrug our shoulders and walk away. We're going to keep on bearing down until it becomes very clear to the U.S. government that they can't get out from under.

We have the strength to do that. And we're getting stronger every day. Eighty percent of the people of the U.S. oppose the war. A recent Gallup poll showed that the American people oppose leaving a residual force in Vietnam by a margin of over two to one. We've come a long way from the days when this was the "consensus" war, and nobody could understand what that handful of student nuts was yelling about.

What has caused things to change is the war itself. The best builders of the antiwar movement have always been the war-makers in the White House and Pentagon. The war itself forces people into opposition to it and alliance with us. There are even a lot of people in the U.S. who hated antiwar demontrators right up to the very moment they found themselves marching down the street beside us.

The war in Vietnam is the major stumbling block to all struggles for freedom and justice. The war is a magnifying glass for all the inequalities in this society, and nearly every segment of the population has found that the war cuts across its needs. At the same time as the war against the Vietnamese has deepened, conditions have worsened for us at home. The U.S. has spent $350 billion on the war, but can't spare $7 million to prevent diseases caused by lead-based paint — diseases which kill or damage the brains of hundreds of children in our nation's ghettos.

Blacks, Chicanos and Native Americans die in Vietnam in numbers way above their proportion in the population, while at home they are murdered in Cairo, Ill., Atzlan, (Spanish-speaking territories in the U.S. Southwest — Ed.), New Haven, and Attica. Women's needs go begging while millions of dollars are spent developing rice rust to destroy the food of the Vietnamese.

According to the Pentagon Papers, a single 20-mile section of a military road from Saigon to Bienhoa cost more than all the money spent on labor, community funds, social welfare, health and education between 1954 and 1961. As these contradictions become clear, more and more groups join the antiwar movement.

Labor

The wage freeze is a good example of how this war forces people to oppose it, despite all of Nixon's tricks and lies. The freeze poses in the sharpest way the question of who benefits from this war and who pays for it. In fact, it probably offers the greatest potential we have for drawing the labor movement into the antiwar movement.

Here are some examples of the potential: the Detroit AFL-CIO recently denounced the wage freeze and the war, and called for a Detroit demonstration against President Nixon. They approached the Detroit Peace Action Coalition and asked them to help organize the action. Last night the people of Detroit responded — 7,000 strong. In New York, more than 20 unions have called a mass rally in the garment center on Oct. 13. And 160 labor leaders signed a letter denouncing the wage freeze and asking their fellow unionists to join the Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations.

These things are only a beginning. A whole new wave of antiwar sentiment is swelling around the country. The demonstrations have been endorsed by such diverse groups as the Afro-American Patrolmen's League and the National Federation of Priests' Councils, representing 40,000 of the 60,000 priests in the U.S. Four senators signed an announcement of the demonstrations published in the New York Times, and five other senators have given their endorsation, as have 20 members of the House of Representatives.

And the candidates for President, who tend to pay attention to what is politically expedient, have jumped on the bandwagon again. Senator McGovern, who last month said he wouldn't be talking about the war because it wasn't an issue, declared this week that every soldier should be withdrawn immediately.

The Nov. 6 demonstrations and the build-up activities on Oct. 13 can involve whole new sections of the population. We can get out people who have never marched before — and who thought they never would. The only thing that can hold us back is if we fail to understand the potential that we have. We really are a majority now, and we have to rise to the challenge of leading a real mass movement, a majority movement. We have to understand our own power.

We have to think in terms of what we have that Nixon doesn't. He may have the money, and the television stations, and the crack public relations teams, and the advice of the Rand corporation. But we have something that is much more powerful than that. We have the majority of the U.S. population. And with that, we'll go up against the big money and the computers any day. We simply have to act like the majority we are.

Ont. election: NDP vs. Big Business

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labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 19 (41) October 11, 1971 15 cents

Build Nov. 3 & 6 antiwar marches

page 4

Stop the Amchitka bomb test!

BULLETIN (Oct. 6) — Thousands of Vancouver-area students demonstrated for two hours today at the U.S. consulate against the Amchitka nuclear test. Duncan McLean, a Young Socialist and spokesman for the Student Action Committee on Amchitka, organizers of the demonstration, estimated more than 10,000 high school students walked out of classes to attend the protest.

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — "Stop the Bomb!" That is the cry being raised throughout British Columbia and now spreading right across Canada as the days and hours slip by and the date for the explosion of a nuclear bomb at Amchitka draws nearer.

Despite mounting international protests, Nixon has declined to cancel the underwater test and has merely postponed it until the conclusion of the visit of Soviet premier Kosygin to Canada this month.

The proposed blast, allegedly to test the warhead for a new antiballistic missile, will be 250 times more powerful than the one which destroyed Hiroshima. The last Amchitka test in 1969 was followed a week later by a severe earthquake in Asia and a milder one in California; the blast area lies on a series of faults in the earth's crust and could very possibly lead to more quakes. In addition there is the very real danger of radiation leaks, which have occurred in a quarter of all underground tests conducted in Nevada.

Tens of thousands of British Columbians oppose the test because they oppose nuclear weapons.

Opposition to the test has come from labor organizations, community groups, student organizations, municipal bodies and even the Vancouver Real Estate Board (fearing property damage from a tidal wave, no doubt).

Students have taken the initiative in organizing mass protest demonstrations. On Sept. 24, almost 3,000 blocked U.S. border crossings. About 1,200 high school students from Burnaby marched more than five miles to the U.S. consulate in downtown Vancouver.

Since then, high school students have been in the forefront. Following initiatives by activists in Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) and the Young Socialists who proposed massive high school walkouts against the Amchitka test, student representatives of vartious schools formed a walkout committee. A student referendum in one high school resulted in a 93.4 percent vote for walkout.

SAY NO TO THE BOMB. Students from Vancouver-area schools picket U.S. consulate to protest Nixon's planned nuclear test at Amchitka Island. Wave of walkouts has swept B.C. schools as public revulsion against the explosion spreads across Canada.

Women unite for abortion law repeal

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labor Challenge

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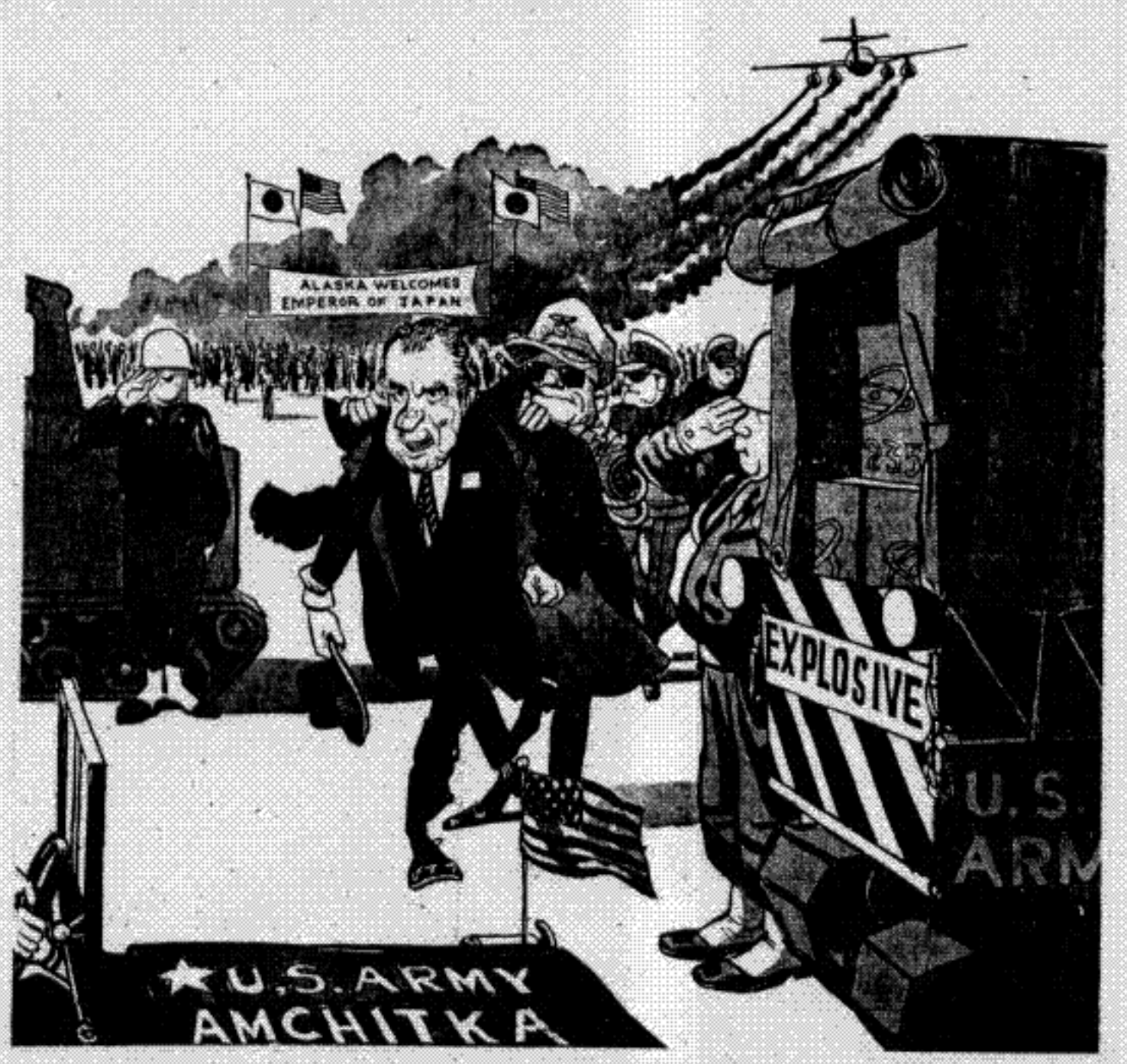

'OKAY, THAT'S THAT — NOW LET'S BLOW THE DAMNED PLACE UP!"

Students lead protest against U.S. bomb test

Continued from page 1

ecology of the area.

The ship had great difficulty getting underway. Federal government officials threatened to cancel the vessel's insurance and used fishing license qualifications as another impediment. Now, of course, with public support for it so obvious, Trudeau expresses his sympathy for the expedition.

The Vietnam Action Committee has drawn attention to the hypocrisy of the Trudeau government's expressed opposition to the blast. "In its recent defense report," VAC chairman Martin Thompson notes, the government "committed Canada to ongoing support for NORAD and NATO with their nuclear weapons...."

And the report went out of its way to argue the case for the same antiballistic missile system the Amchitka test is supposed to develop.

External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, in a recent speech to the United Nations, linked U.S. nuclear testing with that of the USSR. "The problem is the U.S.," said Thompson. "It was the U.S. that used the bomb on human beings at the end of World War II. It is the U.S. that commits aggression daily in Indochina. It was Eisenhower who was prepared to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam in 1954. The Soviet government will clearly not stop tests while the U.S. arsenal grows."

The Vietnam Action Committee at its Sept. 28 conference set Oct. 13 as a date for protest against the Amchitka blast and the Indochina war. A procession through downtown Vancouver in the evening will end at Christchurch Cathedral where speakers will be heard. Other actions — in solidarity with those across Canada — will be the Student Day of Protest Nov. 3 and the mass antiwar demonstrations set for Nov. 6.

labor Challenge

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Ernest Mandel on the U.S. drive to war

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Protest the war on Nov. 3, 6

STOP THE AMCHITKA NUCLEAR TEST! 15,000 Vancouver students demonstrate against the bomb Oct. 6 Protests against Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war and against the Amchitka blast will combine in actions on Nov. 3 and 6. See page 8.

BULLETIN — Leaders of the student movement across the country have declared their support for the Nov. 3 and 6 protests against the war in Vietnam and the Amchitka nuclear blast.

Responding to the call for the protests issued by the Alma Mater Society (Student Council) of the University of British Columbia are student councils at McMaster (Hamilton) and York (Toronto) Universities; student presidents of Humber College, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (both in Toronto) Waterloo University, Simon Fraser University, Champlain College at Trent University in Peterborough, as well as other student leaders.

Nov. 3 has been designated as a student day of protest, with actions on campus, while Nov. 6 will see mass demonstrations in major cities across the country in conjunction with antiwar actions in the U.S. The Nov. 3 actions will build towards large student contingents on Nov. 6.

Impressive support has also come to the anti-war movement from other quarters. B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett and Burnaby mayor Robert Prittie have become members of the steering committee of the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee. Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, has urged all affiliated unions to aid and participate in the Nov. 6 protests.

See article page 8

Amchitka, Viet protests slated for Nov. 3

VANCOUVER — The committee which organized the massive high school walkout here Oct. 6 to protest the impending Amchitka nuclear blast, has issued a call to high school and university students across Canada to hold protest actions Nov. 3. The committee, now called Student Committee Against Nuclear Testing (SCANT), has chosen the Nov. 3 date to coincide with mass student antiwar actions scheduled in the U.S. and elsewhere in Canada.

The committee estimates that nearly 15,000 students participated in the Oct. 6 protest, the largest to date in a series of antibomb demonstrations this fall.

Some ideas for action suggested by Duncan McLean, cross-country coordinator of SCANT, are special assemblies, noon-hour rallies, classroom discussions, petitions, and taking time off school to leaflet shopping centers about the Amchitka blast.

"There are dozens of creative ideas floating around about ways to protest the blast effectively," says McLean. "The key thing is that the forms of protest involve as many students as possible."

He added that it is very important to focus the protest the Canadian government. "The Trudeau government has sent one polite diplomatic note of protest to Washington about the Amchitka test. But they are still shipping uranium and over 300 million dollars' worth of arms to the U.S. each year. They are still supporting the North American Air Defense system with its nuclear weapons and they are still backing the U.S. war against Vietnam."

Stop Amchitka, Stop the war!
B.C. labor stops work in protest

labor Challenge

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Part of the anti-Amchitka rally of 8,000 in Toronto massed in front of U.S. consulate.

NOV. 3 — Across Canada, hundreds of thousands of people are mobilizing in opposition to the impending U.S. nuclear explosion at Amchitka Island.

Particularly impressive are the whole new layers of students and workers who have played a leading role in the protests.

Many of them have linked their opposition to the Amchitka blast with a protest against the continuing U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and the Canadian government's complicity in the war.

In the past two days, massive marches have been held in all the major cities.

In Vancouver today, 6,000 — mainly students — braved a freezing, drenching rain to rally at the U.S. consulate while an estimated 50-60,000 workers across the province downed tools for 30 minutes in a "Shutdown for Survival" initiated by the B.C. Federation of Labor. It was the first such work stoppage for a political protest since the strike against war in 1919.

In Toronto, the Ontario Federation of Labor convention adjourned while the 1,200 delegates marched on the U.S. consulate. A second demonstration at the consulate drew over 8,000 students later in the afternoon.

In Victoria, 4,000 participated in an anti-Amchitka rally organized by the recently-formed Student Amchitka Anti-war Committee. They were addressed by B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett and representative of the anti-war movement and the Young Socialists.

In Saskatoon, between 3,000 and 5,000 demonstrated — about 3 percent of the city's total population.

Featured speaker at the Regina rally at the legislature was NDP premier Allan Blakeney.

In Winnipeg, close to 3,000 surrounded the U.S. consulate Nov. 2 in a rally sponsored by the students' councils of the two universities.

In Edmonton hundreds of students cut classes and demonstrated. In Guelph, Ont. over 1,000 participated in a teach-in at the university. Thousands of students demonstrated at various border crossings.

While the Amchitka blast was the main target of the protests, in many instances, speakers and demonstrators have linked Nixon's arrogant flaunting of public opinion in proceeding with the test, with Washington's war of aggression in Southeast Asia. A recurrent theme was "Stop Amchitka — Stop the War!" The demonstrations coincide with the Nov. 3

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...Break from NATO, NORAD, ICC

Continued from page 1

and 6 international days of protest against the war and the anti-Vietnam war movement has played a key role in building many of the anti-Amchitka actions.

This powerful outpouring of public sentiment against the test is an inspiring contrast to the spineless reaction of the Trudeau government to Nixon's decision.

When the White House set a date for the blast, External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp sent what was described as a "politely worded note" telling Washington that if there was any damage, Canada would send it the bill. As if the possible damage from earthquakes, tidal waves and atomic radiation, etc. could ever be compensated!

As to the well-known dangers to the environment and human life Sharp said: "If it does happen, I can just say 'Let us pray'."

Trudeau for his part, has refused to intervene personally with Nixon, saying such action would be "futile."

Ottawa was informed of Nixon's final decision to proceed with the Amchitka test only two hours before the public announcement. The "special relationship" of Canada's rulers with Washington can now be measured precisely — it amounts to two hours' advance notice on decisions directly affecting Canada.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee, in a statement presented to the government in Ottawa, Oct. 13, called on it to "seriously protest the Amchitka test" by ending its complicity in the Indochina war. Specifically, the VMC demanded the government: — issue a statement condemning U.S. aggression in Indochina and demanding immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and material from Southeast Asia;

— Withdraw from all military alliances with the U.S. including NATO and NORAD. Withdraw from the International Control Commission and urge its dissolution;

— Declare an embargo on shipments of arms and strategic resources to the U.S. End all research for the U.S. military. Terminate the Defense Production Sharing Agreements.

The protests against Amchitka will continue with mass mobilizations Nov. 6 against both the Amchitka bomb and the Vietnam war.

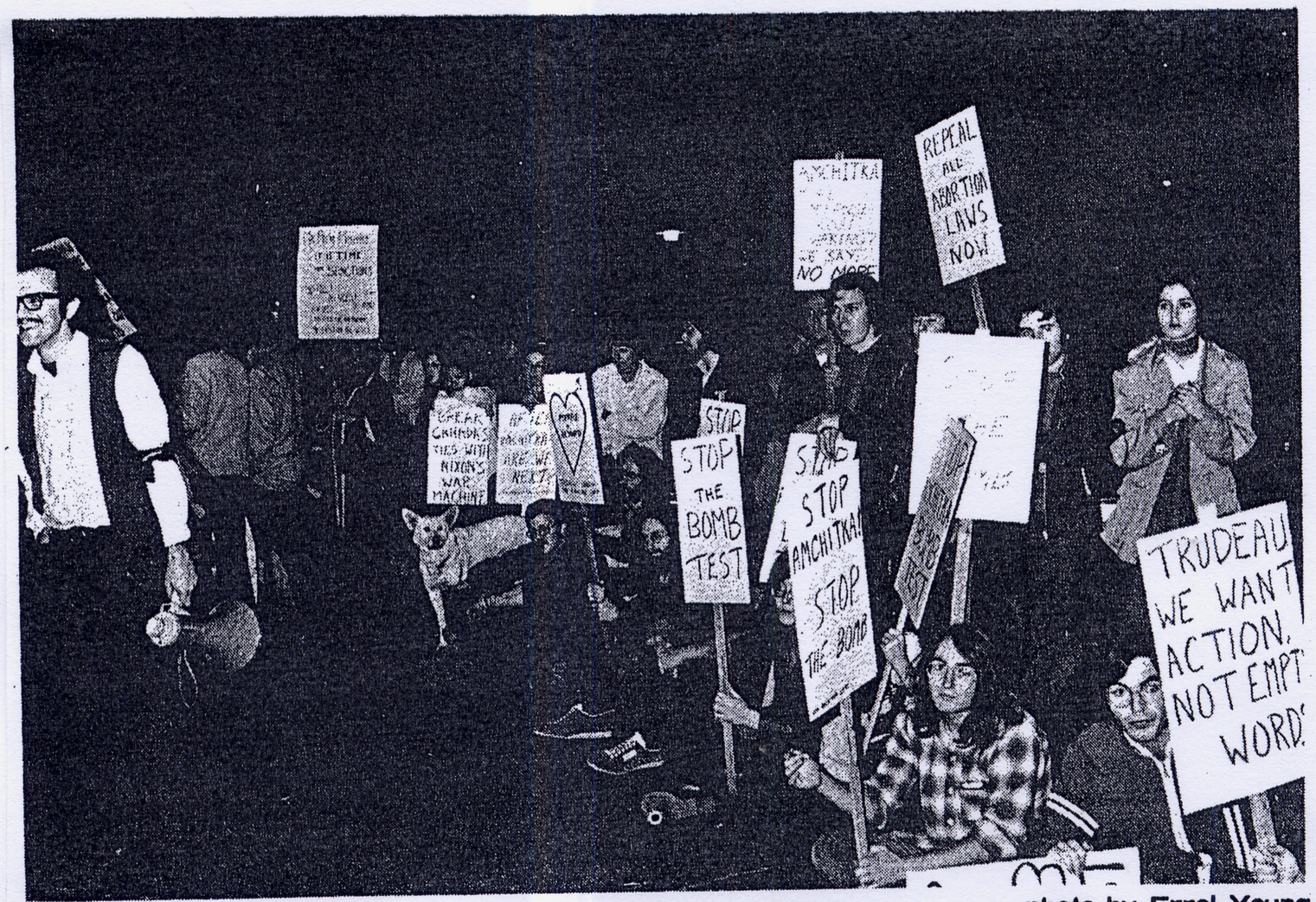

photo by Errol Young

HALIFAX DEMONSTRATORS confronted Trudeau recently with demand that his government strongly protest Amchitka nuclear blast.

labor Challenge

#43

Blessed by Ottawa

Amchitka, Vietnam: U.S. aggression

by Carl Fleming

"Stop Amchitka! Stop the war!"

That is the cry being raised by masses of people across Canada in response to the U.S. government's announcement that it is proceeding with the Amchitka nuclear bomb test on Nov. 5.

The Amchitka bomb is a 5-megaton nuclear warhead for a Vulcan missile — part of the antiballistic missile system being set up by the U.S. It presents great dangers to the Canadian and U.S. west coast environment, including the possibility of radiation leakage, earthquakes and tidal waves.

Canadians are justifiably outraged that Nixon should go ahead and order the test in spite of tremendous popular opposition.

But the same government that threatens Canada and the entire North Pacific with the Amchitka test is committing genocide on the people of Indochina. Growing numbers of people are coming to the conclusion that, horrible as Amchitka is, it is only part of the worldwide campaign of terror of the U.S. war machine.

Nixon is not "winding down" the Indochina war any more than he is "winding down" the nuclear arms race. About 230,000 American soldiers remain in South Vietnam, and while some may be withdrawn, the U.S. is committed to remain indefinitely.

Because antiwar sentiment in the U.S. army and among the population is so great, Nixon has been forced to withdraw some troops. But heavier bombing is replacing the ground forces. In the Oct. 16 New Republic, William Haseltine notes that since Nixon became president, the U.S. has dropped 2,700,000 tons of bombs on Indochina, more than was dropped on Asia and Europe during the Korean and second world wars combined. The U.S. government admits to more than 60 bombing raids on North Vietnam during 1971.

Deputy Tran Van Qua, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the Saigon regime, declared a year ago that American defoliants had destroyed approximately 60 percent of all crops in South Vietnam. Agricultural experts estimate that it will take more than a century to reclaim the land of South Vietnam, which was once the main rice producing area in Southeast Asia. Now rice must be imported from Texas.

RESULTS OF U.S. BOMBING. The same war machine that has exploded Amchitka bomb has waged genocidal destruction on Southeast Asians for past seven years. Above, ruins of a Vietnamese town razed by U.S. bombers.

The Amchitka test underscores the continuing danger of nuclear annihilation that the U.S.-sponsored and sustained cold war poses to all humanity. Only recently former U.S. Defense secretary Clark Clifford warned in the New York Times that Washington is prepared to use "tactical" nuclear weapons in its further escalation of its Indochina aggression.

The United States is the only country that has used nuclear weapons — against the Japanese in 1945. It was the U.S. that offered the A-bomb to France for use against the Vietnamese in 1953.

Why does Nixon continue the war? Clearly the American people have no interest in a war which has killed thousands of their countrymen, which has brought higher taxes, a lowering of living standards and largescale economic crisis.

But the U.S. government and big business need the war.

The long-range strategic aims of the U.S. are threatened by the Vietnamese. A victory by the freedom fighters in Indochina would doubtless inspire similar struggles for self-determination and liberation throughout the world. The U.S. policy makers chose Vietnam as the place to demonstrate to the people of the world that they are serious — that they will not tolerate revolution.

The Canadian government supports and aids U.S. imperialism around the world. There is no more revealing example of the actual state of Canada-U.S. relations than the history of Canada's complicity in the Indochina war. The Canadian government has provided diplomatic cover and a rationale for U.S. aggression through its reports and activities on the International Control Commission.

See page 7

... Amchitka and Vietnam

Continued from page 8

Billions of dollars in arms and strategic resources are shipped each year to the U.S. war machine. Canada's military alliances with the U.S. through NATO and NORAD make Trudeau jointly responsible for the antiballistic missile program and therefore the Amchitka test.

The Indochinese people are out to change their conditions. They have been fighting against foreign domination for generations. They have fought the Chinese, French, Japanese, and now U.S. oppressors. Time after time they organized themselves into guerrilla armies to throw out the foreigners. They are determined to continue their struggle until victory.

Millions of people throughout the world have come to the aid of the Indochinese people through building a mass international antiwar movement. The issue of the war has become the main radicalizing influence of the past decade, as people come rapidly to anticapitalist political positions on a whole range of questions starting with the war.

Workers in the U.S. and Canada are starting to respond, relating the war to the economic crisis. In the United States, where Nixon's wage freeze is a direct result of the war, the labor support for the Nov. 6 demonstrations has been greater than ever before.

Many women are saying: "The government that refuses to grant me the right to control my body is the same government that is helping to deny the Vietnamese the right to control their lives."

Quebecois can arrive at a clearer understanding of the imperialist roots of the oppression of their nation and the international significance of their own struggle through actions against the oppression of the Vietnamese.

And many students are coming to the realization that their schools and universities are an integral part of the war machine, and that the struggle to change that will involve the most far-reaching measures to change the entire administration and role of the university as an instrument of a war-driven capitalist system.

Now thousands of people are taking to the streets against the Amchitka test in mass actions Nov. 3 and 6. The demand to stop Amchitka, linked with the demands for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and an end to Canada's complicity in the war, will being new layers of society to an anti-imperialist consciousness.

MITCHELL SHARP. "I can just say, 'Let us pray'," was external affairs minister's "firm" response to Nixon's decision to explode Amchitka nuclear bomb.

labor Challenge #44 Nov. 22 1971

Speech at Nov. 6 rally

Why Amchitka?

The following is the speech by Al Cappe, a member of the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists and Toronto YS organizer, at the anti-war, anti-Amchitka rally in Toronto Nov. 6.

Why is Nixon doing this?

Why is Nixon going ahead with a test that is 250 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima — a bomb which leveled an entire city, which killed thousands of people and which, 25 years later, people are still suffering from and the whole world shudders to think of it?

Why is he going ahead when thousands have taken to the streets in protest; when fifty thousand B.C. workers stopped work to condemn the test; when his own advisers and legislature are against it; when universities and high schools have shut down in protest and university presidents are renting buses to take students to demonstrations; when foreign governments have condemned the blast?

Because he is trying to scare the world. He is trying to scare the Vietnamese who have fought and stalemated the most powerful military power in the world. He is telling the Vietnamese that they can keep on fighting, they can stop all the U.S. forces, but he can blow them off the map.

He is trying to scare the Blacks in the United States, the Chicanos, the women, the anti-war activists. He is trying to tell them that he and his class don't give a damn about what they are fighting for, he is telling them that they'd better keep in their place because he has got the power to destroy the world and no matter what anyone says to him, he is going to throw the mighty destructive power of the Pentagon against them.

He is saying — you have seen me at work at Kent and Attica and Mylai and I'm not stopping there; I'm out to rule the world by terror, I'm going to threaten the ecology and the lives of people on two continents to show that I'm the boss. I'm going to stop any

Al Cappe

Vietnamese, any Cuban, any Bengali, any Palestinian, any Bolivian who says they want to live their own lives.

And he is trying to scare us!

But we aren't scared.

We didn't head for the hills and we didn't pray. We organized the most powerful, the most united, the most visible and vocal and in-the-streets movement that this country has seen in a long time.

And our government. What did they do? Why did they only pass some weak-kneed resolution in the house? Were they scared? They had no reason to be scared. If they wanted to do something to really stop the bomb they could have had the entire population of Canada mobilized behind them.

But they are trying to scare us too. They have people they want to keep down. Like the Quebecois, like people in the West Indies who don't like Alcan and people in Brazil who don't like Brascan. Like us — students and workers who have nothing to gain from this capitalist system, who want to control the schools and the places of work. So what could be better for them than to play nice with the most powerful cops of the world.

They have been tying the noose for the U.S. hangman for years. Pearson, Trudeau...they have been selling the U.S. armaments to the tune of a million dollars a day for the past five years. They have supported the war in Vietnam all down the line and Canadian diplomats like J. Blair Seaborn have lied and spied for the Pentagon in Hanoi.

Through NATO and NORAD they have shared defence costs with Washington and through such projects have turned Canadian universities into centers for war research.

Yes, Trudeau is trying to scare us. Because he is frightened of the U.S. He is scared of the power of people united in the streets — the power of people who say "Stop business as usual, put down your tools," who say "Let's use the schools for action against the bomb and the war."

He is afraid and we have to keep him on the run. We have to continue to build the movement in this country that was saying these things and organizing around them for years — the anti-war movement. We have to build anti-war committees in every high school and every campus in this city and all across this country. We have to build a movement powerful enough to break all of Canada's ties to the U.S. war machine and to end Nixon's reign of terror against the Vietnamese and all the people of the world.

That is what we in the Young Socialists have been doing. Building the anti-war movement.

And building the movements of every group in this country organizing against their intimidation, their exploitation and oppression — and who have not been turned back by War Measures or Amchitka. The students who took to the streets on Nov. 3, the women who will rally at Ottawa on Nov. 20, the Quebecois who demonstrated 8,000 strong Oct. 16 in defense of their right to speak their own language.

I urge you to join the Young Socialists or to join with the Young Socialists in building all these movements that will end this reign of terror by the rulers of the world.

There is nothing more powerful, there is nothing that can stop the organized might of people who are on the move.

labor Challenge #44

B.C. labor stoppage a first for on-job political action

by G. Peterson

VANCOUVER — The massive protests against the U.S. nuclear test at Amchitka Island brought out many thousands of people who have never demonstrated before. The massive high school walkouts, starting with the demonstration of 12,000 in Vancouver Oct. 6, are one example of the militant forms the mass movement found to express the outrage felt against this test.

But another precedent was set as well. A work stoppage was called and responded to on a political issue — for the first time since 1919 when workers across western Canada downed tools to protest the participation of Canadian troops in the allied attempt to overthrow the new Bolshevik government of Soviet Russia.

It was the high school students who played the key role in transforming passive anger into active mass resistance, by organizing the mass walkouts Oct. 6. It was in this framework of massive, active protest that labor's "Shutdown for Survival" became possible.

After it was announced that the test would take place early in November, an emergency meeting of the broadly-based Canadian Coalition to Stop the Amchitka Bomb was called. The Coalition adopted almost unanimously a proposal from the high school students, represented by Young Socialist Duncan McLean, and the Vietnam Action Committee represented by Nic Shugalo and Gary Porter (the latter is Vancouver organizer of the League for Socialist Action), to set Nov. 3, the international student day of antiwar protest, as the central day of action against the bomb.

A proposal by representatives of the Society for Pollution and Environmental Control (SPEC) for a five-minute work stoppage met a favorable response from representatives of the B.C. Federation of Labor and the Vancouver and District Labor Council who were present at the meeting. The B.C. Fed responded immediately, extending the proposed shutdown from five minutes to 30, and issuing a call to their 150,000 affiliated members to participate in a "Shutdown for Survival" at 11 a.m. Nov. 3.

Although the federation staff was heavily weighed down with preparations for its Nov. 15-19 convention, all the staff was diverted to the task of building the walkout. The Fed bought huge ads in the Sun and Province, B.C.'s two largest newspapers, publicizing the shut-down, and meetings of stewards committees and plant committees were held across B.C.

There were only three days between the call and the shutdown and the wheels for massive on-the-job political action have grown somewhat rusty since 1919. There were many who felt pessimistic that any workers could be pulled off the job. In spite of the short time and the complete newness of the action many thousands did walk out.

Three thousand longshore workers in Vancouver, a thousand pulp workers in Kamloops, woodworkers in logging camps and plants all over B.C., miners in the Steelworkers union, civic workers in New Westminster and Nanaimo, construction workers in Vancouver and elsewhere (including 300 electricians in Vancouver who demonstrated with their "hardhats" at the U.S. Consulate) and many others stopped work.

In spite of threats from the federal government of jailings and fines for violation of the Public Service Staff Relations Act, postal workers in scattered B.C. communities also stopped work. Many crews sent telegrams to Nixon or Trudeau or gave money to the Greenpeace if they did not walk off. No reliable estimate of the number of workers involved has been made — but it was a considerable number and certainly in the tens of thousands range.

The labor protest bodes well for future on the job action in struggles such as against Bill 33, any attempt at wage controls by Trudeau, Bennett or U.S. companies or on other political issues.

SHUTDOWN FOR SURVIVAL. Members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other construction workers marched to U.S. consulate in Vancouver Nov. 3, in response to call of B.C. Federation of Labor. Thousands of workers across B.C. also stopped work to protest Amchitka test.

labor Challenge #44 Nov. 22, 1971

EDITORIAL

Amchitka upsurge reveals force of anti-U.S. sentiment

by The Editors

The wave of protest against the Amchitka nuclear test that swept Canada before the detonation of the bomb on Nov. 6 was without parallel in recent years. Never have so many people, from so many different movements and backgrounds across the country, united in opposition to the U.S. warmakers.

The mass, spontaneous upsurge expressed a deep and growing unease among broad layers of the Canadian population against U.S. domination of this country. This sentiment, while broad, is still on an elementary level. The anti-Amchitka movement began with the circulation of petitions, or letters to the editor, expressing concern about the possible environmental effects of the bomb test. However, as the actual date of the test approached, thousands of people took to the streets in protest.

Amchitka is only the first of many such explosions of mass indignation that we can expect in the next period. The basic thrust behind these massive actions in the streets and work places is the widespread disenchantment, in the wake of Nixon's 10 percent surcharge, with the long-held myth that "U.S. investment (read control) brings jobs."

Its thrust is toward anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist consciousness. The anti-war movement has played a central role in helping to build this consciousness and give it a clear focus against the complicity of the Canadian government. And in most cases, it was the established leaders of the anti-Vietnam war movement, including members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, who led the demonstrations against Amchitka, with broad support enlisted from student, labor and church groups.

Thus it was natural for the largely spontaneous student actions to choose Nov. 3, international day of student mobilization against the war, as the date for the mass walkouts and campus shutdowns against Amchitka.

The anti-war movement attempted to expose the role of the Trudeau government in making Amchitka possible.

Victoria, Nov. 3

The Toronto-based Vietnam Mobilization Committee and other leading anti-war coalitions across the country raised the demand that Ottawa "break with the U.S. war machine."

The VMC pointed out that the Canadian government, in its defense white paper issued last August, justified and supported the same anti-ballistic missile system which the Amchitka blast was ostensibly designed to test. Canada's membership in NATO and NORAD, both of them U.S.-dominated nuclear alliances, and its support for U.S. aggression in Indochina, expose Trudeau's hypocrisy in opposing the test.

But the Trudeau government was not fully exposed through the Amchitka protests. The basic thrust of the actions was naturally directed against Nixon who, after all, was primarily responsible for the blast. And the government, backed up by the mass media, was very careful to cover its hypocrisy and appear to oppose the test. A couple of diplomatic notes were sent and the House of Commons adopted a resolution against Amchitka and all nuclear testing.

So great was the scope and depth of the mass protests that they swelled up quite independently of the intervention of any established political force or tendency.

The NDP leadership, confining themselves to interventions in the parliamentary question period, did not seriously challenge the Trudeau government. They abstained from building the mass demonstrations.

The Waffle, which is attempting to build a broad left wing in the NDP by basing itself on the broad anti-imperialist sentiment, abstained from the Amchitka actions and in some cases even opposed them.

The various ultraleft sectarian currents failed to respond to the anti-Amchitka movement — whether as a result of their lack of understanding of the progressive content in this anti-imperialist sentiment (e.g. the ex-Maoist Canadian Part of Labor), or because of preconveived and false notions of how this anti-imperialist sentiment is likely to develop (Canadian Liberation Movement), or simply because of an underestimation of the power of a student-based movement to spark a mass response in other sectors of the population.

The student leadership tended to respond late and then only under the pressure of the students.

The only tendency which did play a key role in building many of the protests across the country the revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists, were able to intervene effectively precisely because of their conscious and consistent orientation toward building the anti-war movement. YS and LSA members were among the speakers or chairpersons at most of the major rallies.

A number of precedents were set during these actions, pointing the way for future mass struggles.

One was the tremendous response of the labor movement, particularly on the west

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coast. The British Columbia Federation of Labor, in calling its "Shutdown for Survival" has established the use of on-the-job action on political questions. The Canadian Labor Congress leadership were forced to take a position on Amchitka and publicize it across the country. The Ontario Federation of Labor adjourned its convention to march on the U.S. consulate Nov. 3.

Over the next period, the anti-war movement must cement its ties with the labor movement, carry educational activities designed for workers and draw trade unionists into future anti-war demonstrations.

In the high schools, mass student walkouts were a common occurrence. Political discussions, leafleting and postering became a regular part of the curriculum for many high school students.

The thousands of high school students who came into action against Amchitka must be organized into a high school anti-war movement that can educate students on the war issue and fight for the right to organize in the schools.

In most areas, the university campuses became the organizing centers for the Amchitka protests. Students naturally took over and used the facilities of the universities for the anti-war movement, running off leaflets for high school students, transforming classes into discussions of the bomb, holding mass rallies and debates. In some cases the university administrations were obliged to cancel classes and back the mass protests.

The student anti-war movement was reborn through these protests. Now it must be consolidated to lead the next upsurge. The anti-war movement on the campuses now can find much wider support for its demand that the university break from its support of the U.S. war machine and itself become a force against the war and for social change in this country.

We did not stop Amchitka. But a movement grew up spontaneously which, if consolidated, can bring about powerful mass actions that seriously challenge U.S. domination of Canada and Nixon's stooges in the Canadian government.

Stage Four

RADICALIZATION DEEPENS. Student major force in sparking the mass protests against Nixon's blast. Top photo of the Toronto demonstration Nov. 3. Below, students block border crossing Windsor and Detroit.

Mass antiwar actions in U.S., France

Major actions against the Indochina war took place in the United States and France on Nov. 6, an International Day of Protest.

In the United States, while the fall actions were smaller than last spring, they recorded significant growth of the organized anti-war movement, the National Peace Action Coalition. (NPAC) in new areas of the country and into new layers of the population, especially the labor movement.

The figures on the actions given by the NPAC are: New York, 30,000; San Francisco, 50,000; Cleveland, 2,000; Chicago, 10,000; Atlanta, 3,000; Minneapolis, 8,000; Denver, 15,000; Boston, 10,000; Washington, D.C. 5,000; Seattle and Detroit, 2,500; Tampa, 1,500 and 2,000 in Phoenix and 5,000 in Houston, Texas.

A massive campaign undertaken by the Indochinese Solidarity Front in France, initiated mainly by the Trotskyist Ligue Communiste, organized a march of 30,000 people in Paris and nearly ten thousand in many other French cities. The united front actions of the FSI demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and extended solidarity to the U.S. anti-war movement and the Indochinese national liberation movements.

The Communist Party of France refused to support the coalition, which was widely supported by the rest of the French left, including the Parti Socialiste Unifie, Lutte Ouvriere and other radical left groups. The principal speaker at the Paris action was Michel Piccoli, one of France's most famous actors.

Anti-war actions were also reported in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.

labor Challenge #44 Nov. 22, 1971

New layers population drawn into demonstrations

What did we see in Canada during the Nov. 3 - 6 days of protest against the Amchitka nuclear test and the Indochina war? The statistics record that over 100,000 people demonstrated; that 177,000 people, at least, signed their names to a petition against Nixon's planned blast; that this protest was the biggest ever in recent years.

But the figures can hardly indicate the color and intensity of the rallies; their scope and depth; the spontaneity and militancy of the actions; the newness of the vast majority of those who took to the streets and the dynamic role played by the high school students in triggering this massive response.

Not only were the actions bigger than ever; not only did they involve literally tens of thousands of people in actions for the first time but the geographical spread of the actions assured all that the mass protest was firmly rooted in all areas of the country and in most layers of the population.

Over 15,000 people participated in demonstrations in the streets in British Columbia. Under a driving, cold, rainstorm, 6,000 protested at the U.S. consulate in Vancouver, with thousands of students having marched for miles from Lower Mainland points. Four thousand marched in Victoria, 3,000 in Kelowna, 1,000 in Kamloops, 1,000 in Vernon and several hundred in Prince George and other centers.

On the Prairies, Edmontonians staged the biggest demonstration they have seen in many years — 8,000 strong. Saskatoon marched 3,000 strong, perhaps its largest action ever. Two thousand marched on the U.S. consulate in Winnipeg.

The Southern Ontario protests were militant and spontaneous. Over 10,000 students from several universities took to border crossing points in rented busses; the Peace Bridge at Fort Erie, the Ambassador Bridge at Windsor and the Bluewater bridge at Sarnia were closed down by sit-ins. In Toronto 8,000, mostly high school students, demonstrated at the U.S. embassy on Nov. 3. In Brampton, just outside Toronto, 2,000 high school students left classes and marched on the home of Ontario Premier Davis. In Ottawa, several demonstrations took place during the week, with about 650 on Nov. 3 and 800 on Nov. 6 at the "Stop the War, Stop Amchitka" rally.

The big Quebecois demonstration, organized jointly by French and English committees, took place on Nov. 6, after several days of teach-ins and a rally of 350 at the U.S. consulate Nov. 3.

One thousand people marched in freezing cold, 500 sticking it out to the rally where labor leader Michel Chartrand spoke.

In the Atlantic region, the biggest action took place in Moncton where 1,000 marched. In St. Stephen 200 marched on the U.S. border and 400 demonstrated in St. John. In Fredericton 250, mostly students, demonstrated at the legislature. In St. John's, Nfld. 350 protested at the U.S. consulate.

The anti-war movement responded sensitively to the massive feelings of the Canadian public against Amchitka. It turned its resources and know-how over to the protest, linking up the Amchitka and anti-war issues and seeking to build the Nov. 6 protest against the Indochina war with new support from the Amchitka movement. This link-up was made in many areas, but most of the November actions, as in the U.S., were smaller than the last International Days of Protest. In Vancouver, 500 demonstrated Nov. 6 including the NDP provincial council which adjourned to join the protest. In Saskatoon, 150 marched on City Hall, in an action endorsed by the Saskatoon Labour Council. In Winnipeg, 500 marched. About 2,000 people in Toronto marched from Queen's Park to City Hall to the U.S. consulate in a very broadly endorsed action.

Nov. 6 saw 800 march in Ottawa and 1,000 in Montreal.

The Nov. 6 actions across the country were smaller mainly because the real push had already taken place earlier in the week at the huge student actions around Amchitka. Certainly, the movement against the Indochina war was renewed and grew during the week of protest.

An important factor enabling the link-up to be made between the anti-war movement and the anti-Amchitka movement, was the role played by the socialist youth in the movement, the Young Socialists. In every city they participated as key builders of the actions, as spokespersons. Young Socialist campus leaders such as Joan Campana and Linda Meissenheimer in Vancouver, Ron Torgeson and Joe Young in Saskatoon and Paul Kouri in Montreal; and high school leaders such as Duncan Maclean in New Westminster and Allan Klarreich in Toronto were recognized leaders of the actions, as were many other YS activists in each area.

labor Challenge #45 Dec. 6 1971

Debate on antiwar strategy

In defense of mass action

by Carl Fleming

"The creamy-skinned kids jumping out of their dad's Camaros. .marching in the streets against American wars of empire and being led by Commies."

Is this from a red-baiting column in the right-wing Toronto daily, the Sun? Nixon's reaction to protest demonstrations?

No. This was the introduction to a slanderous article in the "underground" Toronto newspaper Guerilla, reporting on and analyzing the Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations against the Amchitka nuclear blast.

"The day of respectable peaceful protest is over. Nobody is listening," says Guerilla. The antiwar movement was "co-opted long ago" and has "absolutely no chance of succeeding."

A similar note was sounded by Varsity, the student newspaper at the University of Toronto. Varsity claims that the Amchitka protests "didn't work" because it is "impossible to halt a bomb exploded from Washington by walking around a consulate in Winnipeg or Toronto."

What alternative do Guerilla and Varsity offer? Varsity suggests "political kidnapping" or "well-planned bombings of American corporations" as possibilities. Guerilla suggests that the Nov. 3 march should have turned into a shoplifting expedition into Eaton's for "the biggest sale in their history."

Guerilla, and to a lesser extent Varsity, go to great lengths attacking the marshalling tactics of the Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations. They echo charges frequently heard from ultraleft tendencies in the student movement. Guerilla tells us that people are tired of marching, that they want "something else".

The antiwar movement organizes demonstrations in order to bring ever-expanding sections of the population into the streets around easily-understood demands. Marshalling tactics are determined within the framework of the mass action strategy.

The executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, George Addison, explained this strategy in his reply to the Guerilla article:

"We have to build mass movements, to teach and win over the majority of people to action against the warmakers. And that takes time — it takes many demonstrations — each one designed to draw in new layers of the population."

Far from being co-opted, reinforcing people's illusions in the system, Addison explained, "our demands for immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces and an end to Canada's complicity in Indochina, clearly expose and direct mass opposition against Nixon and Trudeau, and make our movement independent."

Various sectors of society radicalize and come into action at different rates. A few people, like the editors of Varsity and Guerilla, may be tired of marching against the war, but there are millions of people who have yet to join their first demonstration.

photo by Jeff White

PROTESTING AMCHITKA BLAST. Students take over Toronto streets in Nov. 3 protest, led by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

The major significance of the Nov. 3 and 6 actions was not that they failed to stop Amchitka and the war, but that thousands of new people, particularly youth came into the struggle. Hundreds of people learned how to organize actions in their schools and work places. These people will be the leaders of future upsurges.

While Varsity and Guerilla present a distorted, pessimistic view of mass actions, other forces came forward with critiques of the political thrust of the protests. Particularly significant is the criticism put forward in the Oct.-Nov. issue of Peace Letter, published by the Canadian Peace Congress.

Peace Letter is edited by Dr. James Endicott, and generally reflects the viewpoint of the forces in the antiwar movement oriented to the line of the Moscow bureaucracy.

Endicott, a member of the VMC, describes the Amchitka protests as "the largest and most enthusiastic ever held," but then goes on to attack the leadership of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, which Endicott thinks is putting forward an incorrect political line. According to Endicott, the VMC leaders see the Canadian government as "equally guilty with the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam," thus "alienating a considerable section of public opinion."

"Equal guilt" is a distortion of the VMC position. The Canadian antiwar movement was built around the demand "End Canada's Complicity." "Complicity," according to the legal definition, means aiding or abetting a criminal in an unlawful act. Canada's aid to U.S. agresssion in Indochina means that Trudeau must share the guilt for U.S. war crimes.

But Endicott's opposition to the "complicity" demand is more than a question of semantics. He doesn't agree that Canada is complicit in the war! In the same issue of Peace Letter where Endicott congratulates Trudeau for inviting Soviet premier Kosygin to Canada, he says: "Canada's role for some years was a betrayal of neutrality and the Geneva Accords of 1954. But at the present time the Canadian government does want the war in Vietnam to end."

This revelation will come as a surprise to Canadian antiwar activists. Does Dr. Endicott have some new information that the antiwar movement is unaware of? Has Canada ended its membership in the International Control Commission or the nuclear

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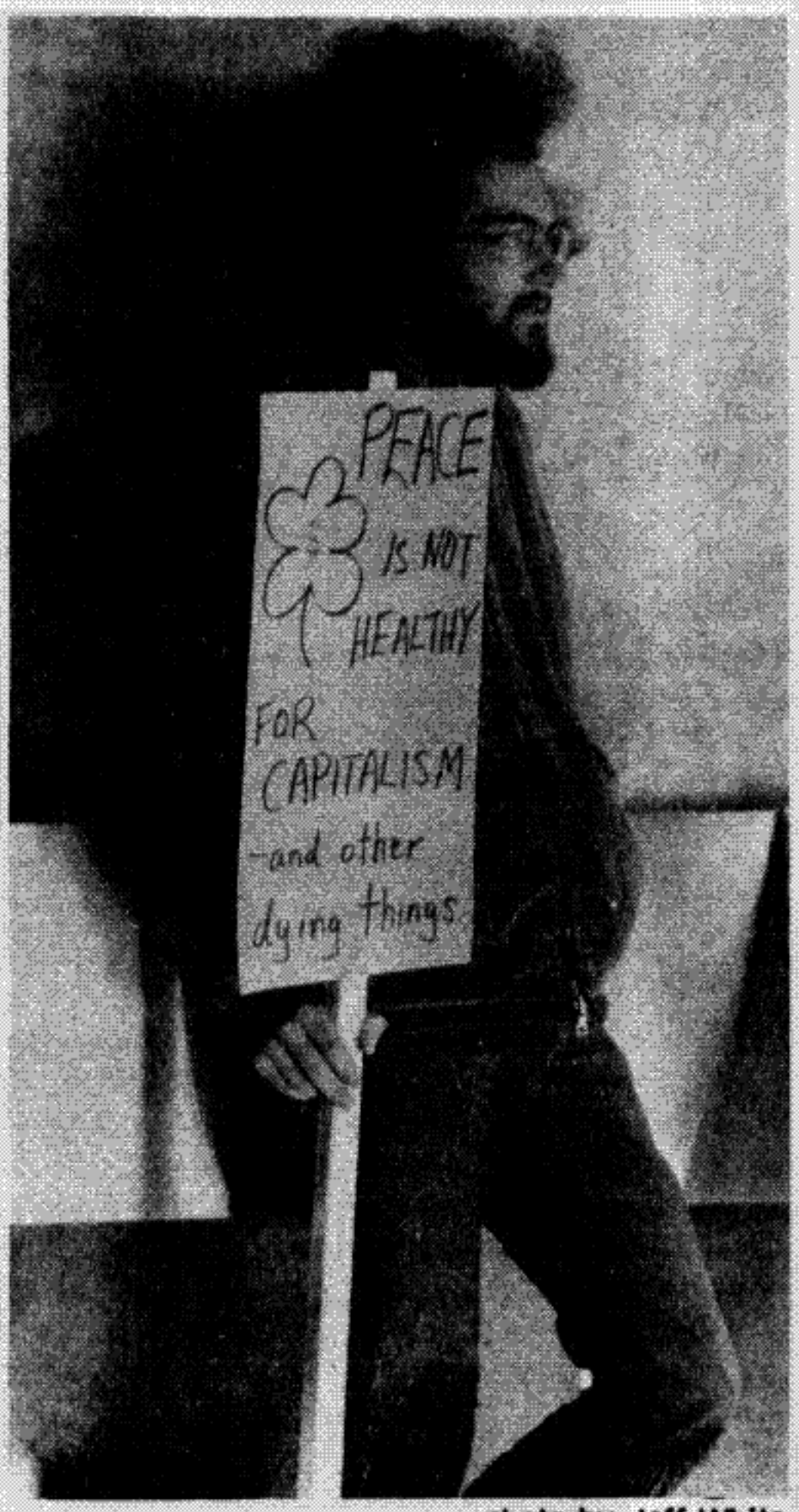

photo by Jeff White

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alliances NATO and NORAD?

Whether or not Trudeau "wants the war to end" is hardly the point. A more pertinent question is whether Trudeau is willing to join the fight for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, and support the right of the Indochinese people for self-determination.

There is no evidence to suggest that Trudeau supports immediate withdrawal. The last statement he made on the subject was Jan. 12, 1970, when he told demonstrators that he supported Nixon's "efforts for peace" in Indochina. And Nixon's "efforts for peace" have now been exposed as attempts to prolong the war to U.S. victory.

Another attack on the antiwar movement came from the ex-Maoist Canadian Party of Labor, in leaflets distributed at the demonstrations. CPL echoes Guerilla's charge that the antiwar movement has been co-opted, then goes on to oppose the political thrust of the Amchitka demonstrations.

CPL is well-known for its opposition to all manifestations of anti-U.S. feeling. The profoundly anti-imperialist sentiment shown in the Amchitka protests is labelled "nationalist" and denounced by CPL. The VMC demonstrations, says CPL, "have served only as forums for their pacifism, pro-NDP politics, and virulent anti-Americanism."

Opposition by Canadians to the crimes of U.S. imperialism finds its natural ally in the American antiwar movement, which represents majority sentiment in the U.S. This anti-imperialist feeling leads people to a better understanding of Canadian capitalism, as it runs up against the government's complicity in U.S. policies around the world.

The only alternative CPL can offer people is the vague call to "fight imperalism and the capitalist system in general" — and join CPL. Judging from CPL's size and political activity, that does not offer much to the thousands who filled the streets Nov. 3 and 6.

Despite the superficial differences in the positions of the various tendencies described here, they have a great deal in common — opposition to the mass action character and political demands of the antiwar movement.

All these tendencies see the antiwar movement as a competitor to their political positions and organizations — a threat to their preconceived schemes of how the movement should develop. They stand lecturing and denouncing as the mass movement passes them by.

The ultralefts, like Guerilla, Varsity, and CPL, have misestimated the present consciousness of the masses. They turn their backs on the masses.

The reformists like Dr. Endicott may know where the masses are, but don't want to take them anywhere.

The Trotskyists, on the other hand, see mass movements, such as the antiwar movement in a different light. They see these movements as providing a form which expresses the present radicalization through mass actions against the government. They are well aware that the mass movements raise the most profound questions, demanding anticapitalist conclusions.

Trotskyists participate in the building of mass movements in order to go through experiences with the masses, and lead them to the understanding of the necessity of their own action to change society. Growing numbers of radicalizing youth are finding their way to the revolutionary movement through these experiences.

The antiwar movement will continue to grow as thousands of people assimilate the lessons of the Amchitka upsurge and move into renewed action against U.S. aggression and Canada's complicity in the Indochina war.

labor Challenge

#46 Dec. 20 1971

Defense sharing

Canada, U.S. plan new arms deal

NO BUSINESS LIKE WAR BUSINESS. Argus patrol aircraft are likely to be replaced by U.S.-made Lockheed Orion aircraft in new defense-sharing deal.

by Carl Fleming

Canada's "special relationship" with U.S. imperialism has taken some knocks over the past few months, but in relation to military and defense policy, it is "business as usual."

Canada's role as "chore-boy for Moloch" is further exposed as the Trudeau government prepares a secret deal to help out the U.S. in its balance of payments difficulties.

The aid is being provided in blood money through the Defense Production Sharing Agreements.

The Canadian arms deal with the U.S. has never been revealed to parliament or the Canadian people. The weapons program was worked out in a series of notes in 1959 between the Eisenhower and Diefenbaker governments. In 1963, C.M. Drury, then Minister of Defense Production in the Pearson government, committed Canada to an "understanding" that there would be a "rough balance" in Canada-U.S. military trade.

The U.S. is now putting pressure on Canada to buy $250 million in Lockheed Orion aircraft, to help pay off the $500 million surplus in Canada's favor under the defense sharing agreements.

This balance came about through sales of Canadian arms to the U.S. for use in Vietnam. From 1959 through 1964, the U.S. bought $925 million worth of arms in Canada. With the escalation of the Vietnam war, however, U.S. purchases rose to $874 million from 1965 through 1967. Current arms sales to the U.S. total about $300 million per year.

The original agreements were part of the "special relationship" deal whereby Canada would get a piece of the action in arms manufacturing for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the North American Air Defense Agreement (NORAD). Raymond O'Hurley, Minister of Defense Production in the Diefenbaker government defined defense sharing as "programs of mutual interest to the two governments."

Does this mean that the Canadian government sees the slaughter of the Vietnamese people by the U.S. as a "program of mutual interest?"

The defense sharing scandal shows clearly how Canada's ties to the U.S. war machine underlie its complicity in the Vietnam war. Prime Minister Lester Pearson argued in 1968 that Canada could not stop shipping arms to the U.S. because it "would be interpreted as a notice of withdrawal on our part from continental defense and even from the collective defense of the Atlantic Alliance."

Paul Hellyer cynically told University of Toronto students in 1967: "You must be careful not to become great moralists over the Vietnam issue. . .you are benefiting from it."

But Canada is certainly not benefiting from having to buy aircraft it doesn't need in order to redress an old trade imbalance. The U.S. is now demanding that Canada spend $500 million, more than a quarter of its defense budget, to help the U.S. solve a balance of payments problem created by — the Vietnam war.

Are the Canadian rulers insensitive to the moral issues involved? Not at all. The editors of the Toronto Globe and Mail complained Dec. 2: "Mr. Drury is disgusting when he says we are bound to honor a 1963 agreement. . .There was no honor in that $500 million we piled up; only dishonor."

But, the Globe editors abjectly conclude, "We will probably have to pay it because they (the U.S.) are bigger and stronger than we and have a thousand clubs to use to bring us into line."

The present scandal of the defense sharing agreements vindicates the positions of the antiwar movement, which has consistently campaigned against arms sales, and showed how they are based on Canadian participation in NATO and NORAD, and other forms of diplomatic and material complicity with U.S. aggression.

The Canadian government got into the Defense Production Sharing Agreements because it assumed a "common cause" with U.S. imperialism. In the light of Vietnam and Amchitka, most Canadians now reject that assumption. They must be united in mass actions to break Canada from the U.S. war machine, in the first place by quitting NATO and NORAD.

labor Challenge #46 Dec. 20 1971

U.S. antiwar conference calls for mass actions April 22

by David Montrose

After two days of heated debate, the Dec. 3-5 National Peace Action Coalition conference in Cleveland called a "Peace Action Week," to culminate in mass demonstrations April 22 in two major cities. The more than 1,400 participants from 41 American states voted to launch actions for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina.

The conference agreed that the present lull in the antiwar movement has been caused by Nixon's propaganda campaign playing up troop withdrawals, and playing down news of the savage air war. Consequently antiwar activists will work to publicize the true nature of the war and Nixon's attempt to crush the Indochinese with a minimum of U.S. troops and the heaviest bombing attacks the world has ever seen.

Among other views put forward at the conference was a resolution that the eastern demonstration on April 22 be in Washington rather than New York. NPAC coordinator Stephanie Coontz, speaking for the New York location, pointed out that a Washington action during the presidential election campaign could be construed as an attempt to intervene in the elections on behalf of Democratic Party "peace" candidates. Coontz stressed that the antiwar movement must remain an independent movement that presents its demands to the government without orienting to either Democrats or Republicans. The resolution for mass demonstrations in New York and a west coast city still to be chosen was overwhelmingly adopted.

The Canadian antiwar movement was represented at the conference by members of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The VMC has called regional antiwar conferences to be held in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Toronto and Halifax Feb. 5-6. These conferences will discuss the call from the U.S. antiwar movement for international actions April 22, the new scandal of the Defense Production Sharing Agreements, and the current myth that Trudeau has changed his foreign policy and is moving away from complicity in U.S. aggression.

In Cleveland, student leader Debbie Bustin expressed the feelings of activists going into the spring antiwar campaign: "Nixon tells us the war is over. He has wound it down. Well let him tell that to the Vietnamese. Tell that to the Cambodians. Tell that to the Laotians. The war is not over; and we are staying in the streets until it is."